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Evolutional Ethics and Animal Psychology. D. Appleton & Co., New York; Wm. Heinemann, London. 1898.

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Elizabeth E. Evans,
(formerly a resident of Ann Arbor.)

La Tour de Peily, Switzerland.
August 8. 1903.

THE STORY OF
LOUIS XVII. OF FRANCE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

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Engraved by G. S. Smith

Ebenezer Williams.

From his portrait Painted by Fagnant in 1853.

THE STORY

THE STORY
OF
LOUIS XVII. OF FRANCE

121722

BY
ELIZABETH E. ^{*don Gibson*} EVANS

Author of "The Story of Kaspar Hauser."

WITH FIVE ENGRAVED PLATES.



London :
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1893

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PREFACE.

My sole object in writing *The Story of Louis XVII.* is to make a useful contribution to authentic history.

I firmly believe that Eleazer Williams was the Dauphin, and to establish this fact is to explain many historical mysteries, and also to clear the character of an honest man who suffered greatly during his life, and died "under a cloud," as an impostor.

I never saw Eleazer Williams, nor any of his descendants.

I am a member of the Williams family; and Eleazer, as a supposed relative, often visited at my grandfather's house, and was intimate with two of my uncles.

But that was before my day, and I never heard of the man until the publication of the article, "Have we a Bourbon among us?" in 1853. I happened then to be with one of the uncles alluded to, and on reading the statement, he exclaimed:—

"Now I understand! That explains it!"

Afterwards he told me that when they were both young, Eleazer used to tell him about wonderful visions of beautiful scenes and splendidly-dressed people which haunted him, and which seemed to be fleeting reminiscences of what had really happened in his childhood. Those extravagant descriptions were laughed at by his companion as the sentimental dreams of an excited brain; but in the light of Mr.

Hanson's revelation the matter appeared entirely different, and my uncle expressed his conviction that Eleazer Williams was really the Dauphin of France.

The unexpected testimony of this relative, who was a lawyer, and a man of remarkably sound judgment, probably increased my interest in the story, and from that day to this I have kept the subject in mind, collecting gradually a mass of information which justifies me in offering to the public the results of my investigations up to the present time.

My reason for devoting a part of my book to an examination of the Naundorff imposture is that, owing to the unwearied exertions of his descendants and his partisans, his claims have been kept before the world; while the absurdity of his assertions is in danger of being forgotten, scarcely anybody nowadays taking the trouble to read the voluminous and incongruous narrative of his fanatical biographer, to whose efforts the continued agitation of his pretensions is chiefly due.

My condensed statement of the case contains all that is worth knowing of the matter.

In order to make the narrative readable and interesting, I have written it as a consecutive story, instead of interrupting its course continually by the addition of notes and references. But the material is entirely authentic, and my conclusions from the given premises are the result of careful and earnest investigation.

I have also appended a list of the principal sources of information, and these are accessible to any person desirous of making a thorough study of the subject.

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PART I.



THE DAUPHIN IN AMERICA.
ELEAZER WILLIAMS.



THE STORY OF LOUIS XVII.

CHAPTER I.

REMOVAL OF THE DAUPHIN FROM THE TEMPLE.

It is now generally admitted by even the most cautious students of history that there exists abundant and very strong evidence in favour of the theory that the Dauphin, Louis XVII., did not die in the Temple.

The principal reasons for believing in his escape, aside from all disputed questions of identity and revelations of discovery, are the following facts :—

The sudden death of the Dauphin's physician, Dr. Dessault, a few days before the alleged abduction.

The employment of two physicians who had never seen the Dauphin.

The strong contrast between their report of the condition of the patient and Dessault's opinion of the Dauphin's state.

Their subsequent acknowledgment that they could not testify to the identity of the dead child with the Dauphin.

The declaration of other persons in the Temple that the child who died was not the Dauphin.

The police order to arrest on all the highways of France any persons travelling with a child of the Dauphin's age, as there had been an escape from the Temple.

The actual arrest and detention of several children, soon afterwards released.

The rejection by the royal family of the heart of the child who died in the Temple.

The omission of the name of the Dauphin in the religious services ordered by Louis XVIII., in remembrance of the royal victims of the Revolution.

The neglect of the authenticated grave supposed to contain the body of the Dauphin in the cemetery of St. Marguerite, while a portion of the confused dust of the cemetery of the Madelaine was buried with regal pomp at St. Denis, as the remains of the murdered king and queen.

The merely pretended compliance of Louis XVIII. with the decree of the French Chambers to erect a monument to the memory of Louis XVII. The king ordered the monument to be placed in the church of the Madelaine, and wrote an epitaph ; but the monument was never built and the inscription never used, because the order was speedily annulled by royal command.

The absence of any reference to Louis XVII. in the erection and consecration of the *Chapelle Expiatoire*, which was dedicated exclusively to the memory of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette and Madame Elizabeth.

The refusal of the other sovereigns of Europe to recognise Louis XVIII. as King of France, and their persistence in considering him as regent, on the ground of not having received satisfactory evidence of the death of Louis XVII.

The conduct of the Duchess d'Angoulême respecting the various pretenders.

Her death-bed announcement that her brother was not dead, and her eager demand that he should be found and restored to his heritage.

The official declaration of the decease was disbelieved from the first by a great many persons, and soon facts began to come to light which have gradually revealed the chief actors in the plot, the motives of their enterprise, and the results of their conspiracy.

A brief review of the circumstances will explain the probability of the alleged event.

When the first fury of the French Revolution had subsided, the upholders of the Republic found themselves embarrassed on every side. Although the king and queen had been put out of the way, and thousands of the nobility had perished with them, there still remained a strong party which favoured royalty and would abet its interests to their fullest ability. The new rulers were divided among themselves, and as a perpetual reminder of their usurpations, the prince, the heir to the throne, lived on, despite the privations and brutalities intended to wear out his young existence. In truth, so far from dismissing the royal family from the thoughts of the people, the attention of the whole country was directed more and more to the future of the Dauphin. His uncles, the Counts de Provence and d'Artois, were holding their separate courts at Coblenz, ostensibly with the intention of rallying the loyal French around their king, as soon as he should be liberated; the various crowned heads of Europe showed signs of remonstrance against the unlawful imprisonment, and even the people of France began to feel a reaction from the unnatural cruelty which could revenge upon a helpless child the wrongs he was not able even to understand. The times were evidently calling for a change, and it was just at this point that the influences began to work which developed the strange history narrated in the following pages.

Well authenticated records prove that the Count de Provence

was, even in the lifetime of his brother Louis XVI., a disloyal subject, an ambitious and unscrupulous traitor.

Occupying, by virtue of his rank, a conspicuous position, he used his opportunity to spread dissatisfaction among the people, and to call attention to the troubles which the folly of previous rulers had created. He caused his own liberal plans for the remedy of those evils to be publicly promulgated, and commiserated the unhappy state of the nation, which the king found no way to alleviate. He had even involved himself in a scheme to impeach the legitimacy of the royal children, when the crash of the Revolution, which he had helped to bring on, but which he had not power to control, changed the nature of his efforts. There is reason to believe that the unfortunate king understood his designs, and was as much embarrassed by the treachery of his supposed friends as by the open hatred of his declared enemies.

The prize for which the Count de Provence risked so much was nothing less than the Crown of France. His acts show that during the first outbreaks of popular discontent he hoped for the abdication of Louis XVI., the sentence of illegitimacy against his children, and the advancement of himself to the vacant throne as the man best fitted to protect the interests of the nation. Immediately after the execution of the king, he proclaimed himself regent, and issued a proclamation denouncing that murder, asserting the rights of the Dauphin, and pledging himself to effect the liberation of the royal family, and the adjustment of all wrongs which oppressed the people of France. He assumed the office of regent as his right by law and custom; yet there was no such law existing and precedents were against him.

Few of the European powers paid any attention to his proclamation, although the heirship of the Dauphin was general

acknowledged, and the loyalists of La Vendée, while they fought and died by thousands for the cause of their captive king, never upheld the pretensions of his ambitious uncle. Those brave soldiers were anxious to obtain possession of the prisoner, and the Count de Provence, to strengthen his own influence and increase the fervour of the Royalist party, promised to help them in the project.

At the same time the Republican party made the future disposal of the Dauphin a subject of anxious debate. His presence in Paris strengthened the hopes of his adherents; cruelty had failed to deprive him of life, although it had weakened his mind and almost ruined his bodily health; public spirit revolted against further treatment of such a nature, and assassination had ceased to be a laudable act. To send him into exile was to create a source of continual disturbance; and after much discussion the most influential members of the Convention proposed to give him up to the Vendéean army, a plan which had already been arranged by a secret treaty with the chief of the insurgents. The Count de Provence was aware of all these negotiations, and played into the hands of both parties, while he secretly cherished an intention distinct from either.

After the dismissal of the cruel Simon, the guardians of the prince had refrained from direct abuse, although they had left him in a state of neglect which was not much better. But on the fall of Robespierre all France breathed more freely, and light and air were granted to the sufferer, now too much exhausted by privation to appreciate these privileges. The National Guard appointed Laurent his keeper. He was a gentle-hearted man and did all he could to ameliorate the condition of the unfortunate child; but he was restricted by minute directions, and dared not go beyond attending to the

physical necessities of his charge. For more than six months the prisoner had been left entirely alone, seeing no human face and hearing no human voice, excepting when at night his jailer handed in the scanty supply of food and water through a revolving aperture in the door, and bade him rise and eat it. The horrible condition of his cell and the absence of fresh air had reduced the miserable victim to a state of stupor, and he was but a few hours removed from death when Laurent arrived as the first agent in the improved order of things. This merciful keeper continued alone in the prison for several months, when, wearying of the monotony, he demanded a colleague, and Gomin, a secret agent of the Count de Provence, was appointed to that office. On the 29th of March, 1795, Laurent gave up his position, and Lasne, a moderate Republican, was sent to fill his place.

Then began a laxity of discipline, an arrangement of duties well calculated to aid any attempt at the prisoner's abduction. The inner doors were left open, and their hinges oiled to prevent noise, while the frequent goings and comings of the two jailers and their loud attempts at music and other amusements accustomed the neighbourhood to sounds and movements in the formerly silent prison.

In a short time the committee were informed that the health of the prince was seriously affected, and Dessault, the chief physician of France, was appointed to attend him. He found him apathetic in mind and wasted in body, with swellings at most of the joints, which proved the debilitated state of his system. Still, Dessault declared that there was no seated disease. His horrible treatment had stimulated into present action a slight hereditary taint of scrofula; but there seemed to be no ailment which might not be healed by proper care.

Accordingly, removal into the country and abundance of air



W. J. L. H. H. H.

The Dauphin

From an outline drawing of the Portrait in the Bryan Gallery, New York, supposed to be after Bellanger's Sketch made in the Temple, May 13, 1795.

and exercise were prescribed. But the Government would not consent to the change, and so the kind physician, who was acting in good faith, continued his friendly visits and simple remedies until the 30th of May, when he made his appearance for the last time. He died the next day, or a few days afterwards, of poison, as was always strongly asserted by his friend and pupil Abbaye. On the 31st of May, Bellanger, a painter and designer to the Count de Provence, and also his confidential friend, appeared in the Temple as the acting commissary for the day. He announced his intention of meeting Dessault in the apartment of the prince, contrary to the regulation which required the commissary and the two jailers to wait for and accompany the physician in his daily visit. But so irregular was the discipline of the prison at this time that no opposition was made, and the agent of De Provence passed in alone.

The physician did not come ; perhaps Bellanger did not expect him. The artist remained all day with the prince, and succeeded in eliciting some slight tokens of pleasure and interest through his pictures, while he made a hasty sketch of the child's features, which has been preserved and faithfully copied into a life-sized portrait.

Between that eventful morning and the 5th of June the daring plot was consummated.

Louis XVII. was conveyed secretly from the Temple and given into the hands of Royalists waiting to receive him, while an unknown child, nearly dead with a loathsome form of scrofula, was substituted for him. Meantime the authorized officials were entirely silent. No record of the condition of the prince, no intimation of increased alarm, no message for a physician to take the place of the missing Dessault, came from the silent walls.

Yet on June 5th, when the committee had been informed of the death of Dessault, and sent Pelletau to take charge of the case, he immediately demanded a colleague, as the patient was in so dangerous a state that he could not venture to act alone. So Dumangin was ordered to his relief, and these two celebrated physicians remained in close attendance until the death occurred three days afterwards. Neither Pelletau nor Dumangin had ever seen the Dauphin, nor did they know anything of his condition while Dessault was prescribing for him; consequently they were not surprised at the advancement of disease nor struck by the inconsistency between the mental state of the prince, which bordered on idiotcy, and the unusual intellectual development (frequently accompanying a scrofulous diathesis) which displayed itself in their patient. They presided at the autopsy with due interest and reverence, and Pelletau secretly secured the heart as a memorial for the survivors of the unhappy family.

However, all who assisted at the solemn farce were not so blind. Four different persons in attendance at the prison insisted throughout the remainder of their lives that the patient of Pelletau was not the Dauphin, nor the dead body his. But it was not till the 8th of June, the day of the child's death, that the chief authorities became thoroughly awake to the suspicion of a plot. No time was lost in endeavouring to frustrate the designs of the Royalists. An order was issued to the police to arrest on every high road in France any travellers carrying with them a child of eight years or thereabouts, as there had been an escape from the Temple; and persons were stopped on the authority of that order, but without finding the object of search.

Notwithstanding that there was a general mistrust of the

proceedings in the Temple, and the opinion prevailed that the prince was not dead, the fact was certain that he was not to be found, and accordingly no opposition was made to the nominal accession of the Count de Provence under the title of Louis XVIII.

The public mind, grown weary of the excesses of the Republic, was favourable to the restoration of the monarchy, and had there been no superior genius to take direction of affairs, the ambitious schemes of De Provence might have been realized without delay; but just at this juncture Napoleon arose, and the Bourbons sank into silence and neglect. D'Artois found a home in England, the young princess, who was liberated soon after her brother's removal, married her cousin, the Duke d'Angoulême, and the Count de Provence, with the rest of the exiled family, formed a mock sovereignty and a petty court wherever they took up their abode.

The history of the Consulate and the Empire is familiar to every reader; matter pertaining to the story of the Dauphin comes again into view with the restoration of the monarchy in the person of Louis XVIII.

Soon after his accession it was deemed proper to pay kingly honours to the remains of the royal victims of the Revolution.

The bodies of Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette and the Princess Elizabeth had been buried in the cemetery of the Madeleine, and covered with quicklime to hasten their dissolution. The place of interment was not marked, and the enclosure was filled with the graves of their companions in misfortune, so that it was impossible to identify the relics.

The child who died in the Temple was decently buried in the cemetery of St. Marguerite, in the presence of three re-

sponsible witnesses; quicklime was not thrown upon the body, and minute directions as to the place of sepulchre were placed on record. Yet, while a portion of the unrecognisable dust of the Madelaine was gathered and interred at St. Denis with all the pomp of royalty, the grave at St. Marguerite was left undisturbed; the heart, which Pelletau had preserved with so much care, was not accepted by the family; no prayers were said for the repose of the soul of Louis XVII., and the only show of respect for his name was the epitaph composed for his monument by the king, who, however, never ordered the monument to be built.

The crown which the new king had grasped so eagerly was, after all, not secure in his possession. Not only did the terrible state and family secret haunt his memory continually, but reminders of its existence were frequently brought him from without. The ambition of Count d'Artois threatened him with exposure, and he was reproached perpetually by the settled sadness of the Duchess d'Angoulême, who knew of her brother's exile, and had been persuaded by her uncle that the interests of France demanded this sacrifice of feeling on the part of their family. The allied sovereigns, though addressing him publicly as king, declared in secret treaties that they considered him only as regent, and had received no valid proof of the death of Louis XVII.; while from time to time appeared pretenders to the character of the Dauphin, men who by various means had become possessed of fragments of the mystery, and made capital of their knowledge for their own interest and the embarrassment of the sovereign.

There seems to be authority for the statement that Louis XVIII. left a will wherein he enjoined upon his brother to

restore the kingdom to the rightful heir, and that D'Artois, following the advice of his chosen counsellors, which accorded with his own wishes, burned the testament, thereby succeeding without opposition to the throne.

CHAPTER II.

“THE STRANGE BOY.”

IN 1795, a family of French refugees, consisting of a gentleman and lady and two children, a girl and a boy, arrived in Albany, New York, and stayed there a short time. The adult couple were called Monsieur and Madame de Jardin (or Jourdain); but they did not appear to be husband and wife, the man acting rather as attendant upon the other members of the party. The girl was called Mademoiselle Louise; the boy, who was younger, Monsieur Louis. Although, at that time, it was common to meet refugees from France, this party attracted particular attention because of the mystery observed concerning the children, who were never seen in public and rarely by persons in the house. The boy, apparently about ten years old, did not seem to notice any one, nor to be aware of what was passing around him.

Several ladies who could speak French called upon Madame de Jardin, among them one to whom she confided some particulars of her previous life. She said she had been maid of honour to Marie Antoinette, and was separated from her on the terrace of the palace before the imprisonment in the Temple.

In speaking of affairs in France, she became much agitated, and she played and sang the Marseillaise with tears streaming down her cheeks.

After a while the De Jardin family left Albany, and their new acquaintances never heard of them again. Before their

departure they sold a number of valuable articles, some of which are said to be still owned by persons in or near Albany; among other things, several large mirrors, a clock, a pair of gilt andirons in the form of lions, and a golden bowl bearing the royal arms of France.

Very soon after the disappearance of these strangers, two Frenchmen, one of them a Catholic priest, having in charge a sickly and apparently imbecile boy, came to Ticonderoga, near Lake George, and left the boy in care of an Iroquois chief, a half-breed, named Thomas Williams, whose mother had been stolen by the Indians from the English settlement at Deerfield, Mass., in 1704. Among other persons who witnessed the transfer of the child was a half-breed Indian chief, John Skenondogh O'Brien by name, who had been educated in France; and he was told by the two strangers that the boy was French by birth.

There is no positive proof that the boy in the care of the De Jardin family was the same boy left with Thomas Williams, but the circumstantial evidence is very strong. His appearance in Ticonderoga occurred very soon after his disappearance from Albany, and the towns are not far apart; also, his unnatural indifference to everything and everybody around him, which impressed the people who saw him first, answers to Skenondogh's description of him as weak and sickly, and wandering in his mind.

The date of neither arrival can now be ascertained, but both events must have happened after the middle of the year 1795; for Thomas Williams had already come down from his home in Caughnawaga to his temporary lodging on Lake George for the hunting season, which begins in autumn. He took the boy with him to his hut on the shore of the lake, gave him the

name of Eleazer Williams, and treated him as one of the family, the child himself being too stupid to say anything to the contrary, and the Indians who frequented that region during the hunting season taking it for granted that the invalid was really Thomas Williams's son.

Eleazer's health was for some time extremely delicate; however, his outdoor life, with the plain food and simple remedies of his Indian protectors, proved to be the best means for the restoration of his physical strength. But his intellect continued deranged until, during one of his annual excursions to Lake George, he fell from a high rock into the water, and cut his head severely against a stone beneath the surface. He was taken up insensible, and had no recollection afterwards of the accident; but the shock awakened his benumbed faculties, and his mind resumed its normal activity, excepting that with regard to the past his memories were spasmodic and confused. The half-breed chief Skenondogh, who saw the boy in his imbecile state, was a witness also of the accident and its happy effects.

Soon after his recovery he was visited by two strangers, one of whom was a Frenchman, elegantly dressed and with powdered hair. This man embraced Eleazer tenderly, and wept over him, talking earnestly to him with tears and endearments, and trying in vain to make him understand what he was so anxious for him to know. But although, according to Skenondogh, the boy understood French on his arrival, he had forgotten it in his exclusive intercourse with the Indians, having doubtless nearly lost his knowledge of the language, with the rest of his intellectual acquirements, during his condition of imbecility.

The next day the two strangers came again, and the same man then took hold of Eleazer's bare feet and dusty legs, and

examined his knees and ankles carefully, weeping as before, to Eleazer's great astonishment.

When he went away he gave the boy a gold piece of money.

A few days after this visit, Thomas Williams returned with his family to their village home, instead of remaining as usual for the winter hunt at Lake George. One night Eleazer, who slept in the same room with his reputed parents, overheard Thomas Williams urging his wife to give her consent to a request which had been made to them to allow two of their boys to be sent away from home for education. She objected on religious grounds, she being a Catholic; but finally she said: "If you want to, you may send away the strange boy; means have been put into your hands for his education; but John I cannot part with."

This remark made Eleazer suspect that he did not really belong to the family, but the impression soon passed away.

The person who had made the request was Mr. Nathaniel Ely, of Long Meadow, Mass., a deacon of the Congregational Church, and a highly respected citizen, who was active in efforts for the conversion of the Indians to Protestant Christianity, and who, being by marriage connected with the Williams family of Deerfield, felt a deep interest in the half-breed, Thomas Williams, and therefore desired to educate two of his sons as missionaries to the savages.

Accordingly, Eleazer was sent to Long Meadow, and John also. John was continually homesick for the free life of the forest, and he could not acquire the wisdom of books, although otherwise intelligent and tractable; but Eleazer enjoyed school, and took to study as though it were the resumption of a former habit.

The difference between the two boys in their looks, manners and characters was so remarkable as to stimulate the curiosity

of every one who saw them, and it was generally believed that Eleazer was a French boy who had been stolen by the Indians from some family of good position in Canada.

Mr. Ely, on assuming the charge of the boy, was informed that he was of distinguished birth, but whether he knew the whole secret has never been discovered. Probably he did, for he told his nearest relatives, in confidence, that there was something about the matter which perhaps he never should reveal; but he would say this much, that Eleazer Williams was born to be a great man, and he intended to give him an education to prepare him for his rightful station.

Apparently, this confidential disclosure was held sacred by the persons who received it; but other people continued to be puzzled by the contrast between the supposed brothers, and after Eleazer had learned to speak English, he was often questioned respecting his former life, his answer being always that he could not remember his childhood distinctly; but there were painful images before his mind which he could not get rid of, nor exactly understand. Once he spoke of the scars on his forehead, and said the sight of them always brought up distressing thoughts which he could not bear to dwell upon. Not only did he acquire knowledge with surprising facility, he also adopted the habits of a refined civilization with ease and pleasure, becoming speedily so much more graceful and elegant in his manners than the persons with whom he associated as to win among them admiring distinction as "the plausible boy."

His person was as pleasing as his manners. His complexion was fair, his hair brown, his eyes hazel, while not a single feature bore any trace of Indian lineage. His character was amiable, sensitive, frank and generous. He was also very ambitious, and, according to his schoolmates, cherished the

idea of his superiority to every other person, a trait which he did not deny nor conceal, and which, when questioned about it, he attributed to his Indian blood.

At that period, although frequently harassed and saddened by dim recollections of his early life, he did not attempt to account for such impressions, believing himself an Indian and a relation of the large and widely spread Williams family of Massachusetts, many of whose members sought his acquaintance and invited him to their homes, where he was welcomed as an especially gifted and promising scion of the race. During the latter part of his school life he became intimate with one of these supposed relatives, and in the freedom of private conversation often spoke of those flashes of memory, which were not entirely of terrifying scenes, but also afforded glimpses of noble edifices, beautiful gardens, gorgeously furnished apartments, ladies and gentlemen in splendid attire, troops on parade, and himself lying on a rich carpet, with his head on a lady's silk dress.

His matter-of-fact "cousin" listened to these fantastic descriptions with small interest but great anxiety; he considered Eleazer as inclined to be "romantic," and sometimes feared for his sanity, so excited would the boy become over the thronging images which now and then disturbed the habitual composure of his mind.

It was in 1800 that Eleazer Williams went to Long Meadow, and in 1803 he began to follow the example of Mr. Ely in keeping a journal, which practice he continued, with occasional short interruptions, for the rest of his life. That he was careful and correct in his statements is proved by a comparison of his early records with those of Mr. Ely, incidents and dates being the same in both cases.

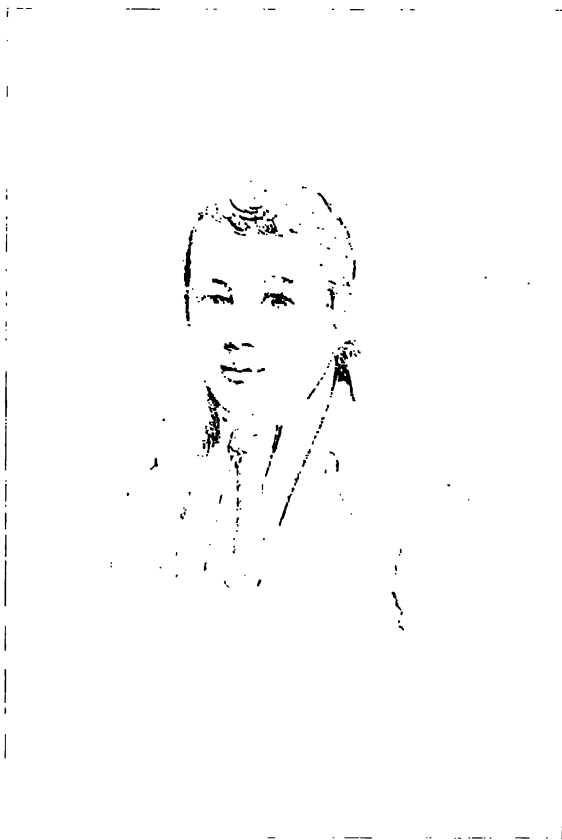
In 1802, there was a religious revival in the churches of

Long Meadow, and Eleazer Williams was one of the converts, an event which was hailed with rejoicing by his friends, as the object of his education was to prepare him for missionary work.

It was generally supposed that Mr. Ely had undertaken the education of the two boys at his own expense, the truth, however, being that money was sent regularly from France for Eleazer's benefit, and that his expenses were paid promptly twice a year through a chosen agent in Albany or New York. But John Williams was unprovided for, and Mr. Ely's means being limited, he began in 1803 to apply for assistance to certain local missionary societies, receiving thenceforth aid from such sources, as also from various members of the Williams family, who supposed that funds were necessary for the support of both boys.

How long the remittances from France were forthcoming, whether they ceased when Eleazer became a Protestant, or when somebody died in France, or when Thomas Williams died, or when the agent died, cannot now be determined. The agent was believed on good authority to have been Mr. John Bleeker, of New York. It was known that Thomas Williams went frequently to Albany, and returned with considerable sums of money, which he evidently had not earned; also, his wife's statement that he was furnished with means for Eleazer's education is additional evidence of the fact that the boy was supported by parties unknown. There seems to have been no such help offered after Eleazer began his independent career as a Protestant missionary, to judge from the privations to which he was subjected for the rest of his life.

In 1804, Thomas Williams and his wife visited the boys at Long Meadow; and the contrast between Eleazer and his reputed relatives awakened anew the curiosity and interest of



Walter J. Kelly, No. 2

George Williams.
From a Cotton Portrait taken in 1806.

the neighbourhood. In May of the same year, Mr. Ely, being in Boston with Eleazer, made application to the Legislature for pecuniary assistance, and received a grant of three hundred and fifty dollars; he also appealed to the public in behalf of the two boys, with what degree of success is not known.

Eleazer continued to improve rapidly in his intellectual development; but his health was always delicate, and he was frequently obliged to suspend study and resort to change of air and scene. In the autumn of 1805, he was sent by order of his physician to Canada, where he spent several months in Montreal and its vicinity, being treated with flattering attentions by distinguished personages, and welcomed as a guest in the highest circles of society. During his stay he frequently attended the services of the Catholic Church, and became acquainted with several priests of that faith.

In May, 1806, being in Boston, he went with Mr. Ely to a Catholic Church, and soon afterwards was introduced to a Catholic priest named Chevreux, who afterwards became bishop. Eleazer was mentioned as an Indian youth, studying for the ministry; and Chevreux began at once to question him as to the practice of the Indians in adopting French children, and asked him whether he had ever heard of a boy being brought from France and left among them, to which inquiries Eleazer could not give any satisfactory reply. Considering the strong prejudice of the New England Puritan against the Catholic religion, Mr. Ely's conduct on this occasion was very singular. That he should go himself on Sunday to a Catholic Church was strange enough (his love of music was the ostensible excuse); but that he should take Eleazer with him, and allow him to be introduced to Catholic priests, and afterwards send him alone to Canada, where he was sure to be surrounded by Catholics, is still stranger, until one recalls his words re-

specting Eleazer's birth and station, and his own intention of educating him for his rightful position.

Mr. Ely died in 1808. Eleazer remained at Long Meadow and Mansfield until 1809, when he was placed under the tuition of Rev. Enoch Hale, of West Hampton, with whom he stayed until August, 1812, although frequently absent on journeys, besides being engaged a part of the time in a missionary visit to the Indians of St. Louis, near Montreal, whither he was sent by the American Board of Missions to ascertain whether there was any prospect of being able to convert them to Protestantism.

His feeble health often disturbed his plans; but his desire to become a missionary to the Indians increased with his wider knowledge of their moral and religious needs. He speedily became very popular with them personally; but his doctrinal system did not suit their ideas, and the Catholic priests already on the ground exerted all their power to counteract his influence.

About this time Eleazer Williams fell in love with a young lady, a member of the Dwight family; but, for reasons now unknown, his suit did not prosper, although he was highly esteemed by the object of his choice and by her relatives. His supposed Indian blood could not have been an objection, as neither she nor her friends believed him to be an Indian; but it is very probable that the mystery of his origin was the chief obstacle, as it seemed to imply an illegitimate birth. Or, it might have been that his poverty, and his intention of becoming a missionary to the savages, prevented the match.

In any case, that family must have experienced a keen regret when after events demonstrated the importance of the opportunity they had thrown away.

For Eleazer Williams, however, and for the world at large, that early disappointment was fortunate; as, if he had been lost in the comfortable mediocrity of a thriving American family, it is not likely that Louis Philippe would have risked tempting him with the offer of rich possessions in exchange for his rights to a kingly crown, and thus his own instinctive discontent would have remained unexplained, and the evident mystery continued to baffle historical research till the end of time.

CHAPTER III.

ELEAZER WILLIAMS IN ACTIVE LIFE.

ON the breaking out of the war of 1812, Eleazer Williams was recognised by the American Government as the person best fitted to prevent the Indians from taking up arms against the United States, and accordingly he was appointed General Superintendent of the Northern Indian Department, with the whole secret corps of army scouts and rangers under his command.

His influence was powerful and widespread, his service judicious and effective, and official records show that he bore that severe test of capacity and principle to the satisfaction of the Government and with high credit to himself.

Even during this exciting period he never lost sight of his purpose to become a missionary; and he spent his scanty intervals of leisure in religious study and meditation; while his journal showed that he regretted the unavoidable desecration of the Sabbath, and the loss of the sanctuary privileges, which to him were so dear.

Towards the close of the war he was wounded, and obliged to retire from active service. He was confined to his bed for several weeks in the house of his reputed father, who nursed him tenderly, and restored him to health through the use of Indian remedies. On his recovery, he (with Thomas Williams, who had also served in the war) was summoned by the Governor of New York to Albany, and while there the Dutch

trader, Jacob Vanderheyden, invited Thomas Williams to spend an evening at his house, and bring Eleazer with him. As the two old men grew lively over the brandy bottle, they seemed to forget the young man's presence, and Vanderheyden reminded Williams of the time when they were together on Lake George, and the boy was first seen in Williams' care.

"Didn't I tell you then," he cried, "that I knew he wasn't your son?"

And Williams answered: "You often told me that; if you want to have it so, you can for all of me."

Afterwards, Vanderheyden asked: "Thomas, what became of that Frenchman?" But Eleazer did not understand, or could not remember, what Williams said in reply.

In 1815, a census was taken of each family of the Six Nations, for the purpose of distributing the presents allotted by the Government to the Indians after the close of the war.

In this census Eleazer Williams was recorded as a Frenchman, adopted by the St. Regis tribe, and transferred to the Oneidas.

Peace being established, Eleazer devoted himself to the study of theology; and after mature deliberation, resolved to join the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, instead of remaining in the Congregationalist communion with which he had so long been connected.

This change in his opinions and purposes appears not to have caused any hard feelings among his early friends, who always retained for him the respect and affection which his exemplary conduct deserved. However, he refused any longer to accept pecuniary aid from the old sources, delicacy forbidding him to employ such money for any other use than was originally intended by the donors.

During those early days of devotion to the Episcopal Church,

an incident occurred which, in view of later events, is deeply significant. One day Eleazer, being on a visit to a clergyman in Albany, saw on his study table a brilliantly illuminated missal, such as is used in European cathedrals and royal chapels, and treasured in the private libraries of the great.

At the sight of this book Eleazer became greatly agitated, so much so as to appear temporarily insane, and he begged earnestly that it might be given him; but his request was refused, his conduct being regarded by the astonished clergyman as unreasonable eccentricity, while it was really dictated by a faint stirring of some early association.

Eleazer Williams was attracted to the Episcopal Church partly by the beauty of its ritual, partly by its comparative mildness with regard to doctrinal tenets. Even as a boy he had refused to believe in the extreme creed of Calvinism, and with increased knowledge of life came a strong desire to teach and preach the practical virtues of Christianity, rather than abstract theories of Divine truth.

He was warmly welcomed into the ranks of the body calling itself pre-eminently "The Church"; and not being yet prepared for ordination, was sent to labour as a lay-missionary among the St. Regis Indians; and at a later period, among the Oneidas.

As the active professional career of Eleazer Williams has nothing to do with the question of his identity, it is unnecessary to go into particulars respecting his varied and trying experience as a lay-missionary, and afterwards as an ordained clergyman; but as the question of his moral character is of the greatest importance in determining the degree of confidence to be placed in his personal statements, it is necessary to declare what can be substantiated by abundant proof, that through all the political and religious difficulties in which Mr.

Williams was engaged, and to which he finally succumbed, so far as worldly prosperity and professional distinction was concerned, he never lost the confidence of his governmental employers, nor the sympathy of his ecclesiastical superiors, while he was loved and trusted to the end by all Indians who were allowed to judge of his conduct for themselves, and were not prejudiced against him by interested and designing enemies.

One important incident may be quoted as a proof of the sincerity of his aims and the noble generosity of his disposition. While he was labouring among the St. Regis Indians, and living upon his meagre salary of one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year, granted by the missionary society, he received ten thousand dollars from the United States as recompense for his services during the war. Having long tried in vain to obtain from the Church the necessary funds for the extension of his useful work among the Indians, and realizing the importance of speedy help, he, without hesitation, solemnly consecrated to the service of God this fortune of ten thousand dollars, and went back contentedly to the former miserable pittance for the supply of his own wants.

In 1818, his health having failed from excessive work, he was obliged to go to Canada for a change. On his departure, the Catholic priest of St. Regis gave him, unsolicited, a letter of introduction to the priest of Caughnawaga, and he in turn gave him a letter to a Catholic priest in Montreal, Rev. Mr. Richards, formerly a Methodist minister, who, like most converts, was extremely zealous in the faith, and who could speak English as fluently as French.

There was an evident desire on the part of high functionaries of the Catholic Church to make a proselyte of Eleazer Williams, and although such a wish was fully explainable on

the ground of his supposed Indian origin, various circumstances pointed to a different reason for the frequently expressed solicitude.

On this occasion Mr. Richards made use of every possible argument to weaken the missionary's allegiance to the church of his adoption, telling him finally that if he would return to the true faith and enter the Catholic priesthood the Bishop of Quebec would give him any parish he might prefer.

Seeing that his propositions had no effect, he closed the discussion by speaking on quite another subject. He told Mr. Williams that the Abbé Calonne (a brother of the Government Minister Calonne in France) had often spoken of him as a person whose life was enveloped in a great mystery concerning his descent and the cause of his detention among the Indians.

Mr. Williams' curiosity being aroused by these words, he asked for further information; but Mr. Richards could not give him any, as the Abbé Calonne always evaded a full explanation, saying that his opinion was largely conjectural, although Richards believed him to know much more about the matter than he was willing to communicate. Richards added that the Abbé believed the Dauphin of France to be still alive, and that Bishop Chevreux of Boston held the same opinion, and had endeavoured, in 1807, to find out where he was concealed.

At the close of the interview, Mr. Richards promised to see the Abbé again, and make renewed inquiries; he then patted Mr. Williams on the shoulder, saying, "You are, I suspect, of higher grade by blood than the son of an Iroquois chief."

These strange hints disturbed Mr. Williams for a time; but he soon explained them, as he had at other times explained similar intimations, by supposing that he was considered to

be one of the children given to the Indians by poor Canadians.

In July, 1822, Eleazer Williams removed from New York to Green Bay, Wisconsin, where land had been provided by the Government for an Indian settlement, it being necessary for a portion of the tribes of the Six Nations to emigrate, in consequence of the rapid increase of the white population in the State of New York.

Mr. Williams was an important agent for the Government in this transaction, and was supported in his new enterprise by the advice and sympathy of the Episcopal Bishop of New York.

From this period his time was divided between his parochial duties at Green Bay and his continued educational efforts among the Indians in his former home.

He also went occasionally to Washington, with delegations of Indian chiefs, to transact important business at the seat of government; in short, he was widely known as one of the most influential citizens in the whole country with regard to matters concerning the Indian inhabitants.

During his occasional journeys to Washington and other eastern points, he sometimes visited his former friends among the Williams family of New England, especially the man with whom he had been most intimate when they were boys together at school. In this household Eleazer was never considered as an Indian; he was believed to be of French origin; but nobody took any pains to investigate the mystery, and the supposed "cousin" was glad to find that Eleazer, as an active man of affairs, had apparently recovered from his early threatened "insanity" and forgotten the exciting dreams which had haunted his waking hours in youth.

Eleazer Williams was married March 3rd, 1823, to Magdalene (called Mary) Jourdain, a beautiful and amiable girl, whose father was French (said to be a relation of Marshal Jourdain) and whose mother was of French and Indian extraction. She owned between four and five thousand acres of land on Fox River, near Green Bay; and from the time of his marriage Mr. Williams' home was in this region, although he was frequently absent at his former residence in New York.

In 1826 he was ordained by Bishop Hobart, his duties and occupations remaining the same as before.

He became the father of three children, one son and two daughters, and his domestic life was happy; but his affairs were gradually involved through the withholding of several payments long due for his services to the Government respecting Indian matters, and through the injustice of certain individuals, who took advantage of his embarrassments to lay claim to his last resource, the land which had belonged to his wife.

The only fault which could be laid to Mr. Williams' charge with regard to his misfortunes was a lack of practical wisdom in the management of business, which defect may have been an inborn trait of character, and was certainly developed through his early training in the simple methods of Indian traffic; while his sincere and literal following of the precepts inculcated by the religious instructors of his youth made him still more careless respecting the perishable goods of earthly life. He was himself honest and generous, and he was not prepared to combat selfishness and knavery in other persons. However, through all his troubles and failures, his reputation as a man of honour remained unsullied, and that is the most essential fact in connection with the momentous revelation which in the latter years of the unfortunate missionary sud-

denly lifted him out of obscurity into the light of historic fame.

In 1836, during one of his visits to his early home, an old Indian woman gave him an ancient mass-book in manuscript, written in the Indian language, and apparently about two hundred years old. She showed him certain childish scribbles on the inside of one of the covers, and told him that while he was in his partially insane condition he one day snatched up a pen and wrote those figures and letters. These consisted of the numerals from 1 to 30 and from 1 to 19, in French characters, also the letter *c*, exactly as it is formed in the handwriting of the Dauphin while under Simon's care, and, less distinct, but still quite legible, the words *duc* and *Loui*.

Now the imbecile boy left with Thomas Williams had not received any instruction since his arrival ; but the Dauphin, before his imprisonment, was far advanced for his age in many branches of knowledge.

CHAPTER IV.

ELEAZER WILLIAMS AS THE DAUPHIN.

IN 1841, Prince de Joinville, the eldest son of King Louis Philippe, arrived in America, and one of his first inquiries was whether a man named Eleazer Williams was living among the Indians of Northern New York. After considerable investigation, he learned that Eleazer Williams was an Episcopal missionary at Green Bay, Wisconsin, and for further information he was advised to consult Mr. Thomas Ogden, a prominent Episcopalian of New York City.

At the request of the prince, Mr. Ogden wrote to Mr. Williams (who was then at Hogansburg, New York, engaged with several other persons in important business connected with Indian affairs) and told him that Prince de Joinville was in the country and wished to see him before returning to France. The meeting was appointed at Green Bay, and Mr. Williams left his business unfinished and started directly for the West, while the prince took the route through Canada. Mr. Williams was surprised at the summons, but supposed the prince's request had reference to local information which he was known to be able to impart.

He expected to meet the prince at Green Bay; but on arriving at Mackinac he heard that the royal party was expected that day, and soon the steamer came in sight, salutes were exchanged, flags were displayed, and crowds gathered to welcome the distinguished visitor. On landing, the prince

and his retinue went to visit the famous rocks about half a mile from the town, and the steamer waited for them. While they were gone the captain sought out Mr. Williams and asked whether he was going to Green Bay, adding that the Prince had been inquiring about him and wished to see him.

After the steamer had started, Captain Shook went to Mr. Williams and said that the Prince requested an interview. Mr. Williams replied that he was at the Prince's service, and the captain retired, returning soon with the Prince.

On seeing Mr. Williams, the Prince started with involuntary surprise; his manner betrayed great agitation of feeling; he turned pale and his lip quivered as he shook hands with the supposed Indian. His emotion was noticed not only by Mr. Williams, but by the other passengers also, and everybody, including the Prince's retinue, was astonished at the attention bestowed upon the humble missionary.

The royal party dined at a private table, and Mr. Williams was invited to take the seat of honour beside the Prince, but he excused himself, and took dinner with the other passengers.

In the afternoon the acquaintance was resumed, the conversation being chiefly upon the early French settlements in America. During its course the Prince took occasion to remark that, on the journey, he left his suite at Albany and went in a private conveyance to the head of Lake George.

The conversation went on till late at night and was resumed the next day, the Prince discussing with much interest the connection of France with the American Revolution and the sympathy manifested by Louis XVI. for the struggling colonies. He also alluded to the horrors of the French Revolution, declaring that while Louis XVI. was personally innocent of the evils which caused that outbreak, the evils themselves were insupportable, and there was no question that the con-

dition of the French people had been greatly bettered since the establishment of an elective monarchy.

On arriving at Green Bay, the Prince invited Mr. Williams to accompany him to his hotel; but Mr. Williams said he must go to his own home. The Prince urged him to stay, as he wished to consult him on matters of great importance, and Mr. Williams promised to return in the evening. He did so, and the Prince received him alone in his chamber, the members of his suite being in an adjoining room.

The Prince opened the interview by saying that he had a communication to make which was of vital interest to Mr. Williams, and also deeply concerned himself and several other persons; he therefore wished to receive a promise that the secret should not be revealed. Mr. Williams objected to pledging himself without a knowledge of the nature of the information, but after some discussion consented to sign his name to an agreement not to repeat what the Prince was going to tell him, provided that no harm to other persons should follow from his silence.

This being done, the Prince told him that he was not a native of America, but was born in Europe, the son of a king; adding that although he had suffered poverty and exile, the Prince's own father had endured a like experience, the difference between them being that Louis Philippe had been conscious of his high birth, while Williams had been spared the knowledge of his origin.

Mr. Williams was so much astonished by this revelation that he seemed to be in a dream. He suggested that the Prince could scarcely be in earnest in making such a statement, and if he spoke seriously, he might be mistaken in the person he was addressing.

But the Prince assured him that he was not capable of

trifling with his feelings upon such a subject, and was amply provided with proofs of the identity of his person. Thereupon Mr. Williams requested him to give him fuller particulars of the secret, and the Prince replied that before doing this a certain process must be observed, for the interest of all concerned.

He then took out of his trunk a parchment, elaborately written in double columns, in French and English, which he placed on the table, where were already pen, ink, wax, and a costly seal.

Mr. Williams was invited to read the parchment, and he remained a long time in contemplation of its astounding contents, the Prince leaving him undisturbed.

From this document he learned that he was the son of Louis XVI., and rightful King of France, under the title of Louis XVII.; also, that he was requested to abdicate his rights and titles in favour of the reigning King, receiving instead a princely establishment, either in France or in America, together with the restoration of the private property of the royal family, confiscated during the Revolution, or fallen afterwards into other hands.

After a period of painful excitement and earnest thought Mr. Williams told the Prince that he could not consent to give up his own rights and sacrifice the interests of his family for any consideration whatever.

The Prince reproached him for making such a decision, and accused him of ingratitude for refusing offers dictated by kindness and pity, reminding him that the king had not usurped his rights, inasmuch as he had come to the throne through election by the French people.

In reply, Mr. Williams said, that as the Prince had placed him in the position of a superior, he must assume that position,

and express his indignation at the conduct of the Orleans family, one of whose members was guilty of the death of the murdered king, while another wished to deprive him of his inherited rights. When Mr. Williams declared his superiority in rank, the Prince stood in respectful silence. On separating for the night, he asked Mr. Williams to reconsider the matter, and not be too hasty in his decision ; but the next day, when the subject was again discussed, Mr. Williams gave the same answer ; and the Prince went away, saying, as he took leave,—

“ Though we part, I hope we part friends.”

Left to himself in that wild region, with the burden of his mighty secret weighing heavily upon his unsophisticated mind, the unhappy missionary resumed his accustomed labours, saying nothing of the object of the Prince's visit, and only pouring out upon the pages of his journal the thoughts which afflicted him. He considered himself bound to silence by his promise to the Prince, not perceiving that by the very terms of the agreement he was free to speak, insomuch as by keeping back the revelation he was doing an injury to himself and his descendants. Also, he knew that so strange a story would not be accepted as valid testimony by an unsympathising public, since the interview had been without witnesses. Therefore, regarding the matter as entirely between the Prince and himself, and not likely to be productive of any results, he went quietly on his way ; and the pressing duties of active life soon cast into the background those few hours of awakened feeling, which seemed in the retrospect like a bewildering romance.

But in 1848 the matter was again brought to his consideration by a letter from a Mr. Thomas Kimball, containing startling intelligence, which Mr. Kimball had accidentally seen in a

newspaper at New Orleans, and had hastened to communicate to the person most concerned.

This information consisted in a confession made by a Frenchman, named Bellanger, who had recently died at New Orleans. On his death-bed he stated that he had assisted in the escape of the Dauphin from the Temple, and was the person employed to bring him to America, that the child was placed among the Indians, and was at the present time a missionary to the Oneidas, under the name of Eleazer Williams; that the principal agent in the abduction of the Dauphin was bound by the sacramental oath of the Catholic Church never to divulge the secret; but that he himself, being in America, and so near his end, had resolved to disclose his own share in the matter, as the knowledge might be of some use to the unfortunate Dauphin, for whom he had always felt the tenderest affection.

This communication had at first but little weight with Mr. Williams; for though in noting the contents of the letter in his journal he alluded to the disclosures of Prince de Joinville in 1841, yet, as at that time he was not informed of the manner of his coming to America, nor who was the agent employed, he was not disposed to place implicit confidence in this new account. However, more deliberate reflection strengthened his interest in the subject, and about a week after the reception of Mr. Kimball's letter he wrote (March 18th, 1848) to Rev. Joshua Leavitt, of Boston, a sincere friend of his, and connected by marriage with the Williams family, informing him of Bellanger's declarations respecting the removal of the Dauphin to America. Mr. Leavitt sent the communication to a Boston newspaper, *The Chronotype*, in which it was published, April 18th, 1848.

In the autumn of 1848, Mr. Williams called on Mr. Leavitt and informed him that he himself was the Dauphin.

In making this disclosure he appeared distressed and terrified, in view of the possible consequences of the revelation ; he also expressed regret at losing his claim of relationship to the Williams family, and declared that he should always retain his affectionate feeling towards them.

From this slight beginning the news gradually spread, exciting occasional discussion, but not creating general interest until, in the autumn of 1851, Rev. John Hanson, an Episcopal clergyman, happened to see an article in a New York daily paper, wherein it was stated that there were strong reasons for believing that Eleazer Williams was indeed the son of Louis XVI., one reason being his remarkable resemblance to the Bourbon family.

Mr. Hanson's curiosity was at once awakened, and he resolved to make further investigations. Soon afterwards he met Mr. Williams by accident, in travelling, and made his acquaintance, learning in the course of the conversation the principal incidents which gave evidence of his identity with the Dauphin, and convincing himself by close observation that at all events the stranger was not an Indian.

After separating from his interesting acquaintance, Mr. Hanson was haunted by the story he had heard, and he proceeded without delay to make inquiries in the case. He recognised the difficulties in the way of establishing facts so contrary to the usual course of human experience ; he recognised also Mr. Williams' unfitness to cope with such difficulties, and he determined to do all in his power to bring the truth to light.

On reading the account of his proceedings one is astonished to find what an amount of important evidence had long been

lying idle, by reason of the indifference of the witnesses, or of their absorption in affairs more closely connected with their personal interests. Mr. Williams had already told his story to Hon. J. C. Spencer, a distinguished lawyer of Albany, and when Mr. Hanson consulted that gentleman he acknowledged that the narrative had made "a great impression, a very, very great impression" on his mind; the more so, that he was already knowing to the fact of the omission of the Dauphin's name in the funeral solemnities, held in France after the Restoration, for the royal victims of the Revolution. Yet Judge Spencer had made no attempt to follow up the clue thus offered him, contenting himself with fearing that it was now too late to obtain positive evidence, and therefore the subject must remain a mystery like that of the Iron Mask.

Mr. Hanson next confided his plan to Rev. Dr. Hawks, who sympathised with his zeal and requested him to write down what he had said, which he did, and sent the statement to Dr. Hawks in the form of a letter. Dr. Hawks read the letter to several friends, and among them was Dr. Francis, a prominent physician of New York, who said that in 1818, he being one evening in a private company, the conversation turned upon the fate of the Dauphin, and Mr. Genet, formerly French Ambassador, who was one of the guests, said distinctly,—

"Gentlemen, the Dauphin of France is not dead, but was brought to America," adding that he believed the Prince to be in Western New York, and that Le Ray de Chaumont knew all about the matter.

Mr. Hanson made good use of the information imparted by Dr. Francis, and by diligent inquiry found out that Count Jean d'Angeley, another of the guests on that occasion, was associated with Le Ray de Chaumont in 1817, a year before Mr. Genet made that declaration, Count d'Angeley having

come to America with the Mayor of Paris, Count Real, and both of these men having been in communication with Le Ray de Chaumont during their stay, which fact would seem to imply that their business concerned the interests of the Dauphin.

Le Ray de Chaumont was a French nobleman, who went to America somewhere between 1794 and 1796, and bought an estate in St. Lawrence County, New York, and lived there in style until 1832, when he with his family returned to the ancestral castle in France. During his residence in America he associated freely with the Indians in Ogdensburg and St. Regis, and took a strong interest in politics. His residence was not far from the place where Mr. Williams was brought up; he was living there when the boy arrived, and he continued in the neighbourhood until his final return to France. It is scarcely possible that he did not know the main facts of the abduction, and his influential position in France renders it probable that he had something to do with Louis Philippe's attempted compromise.

Mr. Hanson learned also from Mr. Williams that in 1819 or 1820 he met Le Ray de Chaumont, who inquired particularly concerning a French refugee named Col. de Ferriere, who had married an Indian woman and settled in Oneida, which at that time was also Mr. Williams' home. In speaking of De Ferriere's troubles, Le Ray de Chaumont remarked that, after all, De Ferriere was not a greater sufferer than a member of the royal family whom both he and De Ferriere believed to be in America. Mr. Williams gave no particular heed to that statement at the time; but the force of it came back after the revelation of the secret of his own origin. In 1816 or 1817, De Ferriere went to France, and took several Indians with him. Before starting he got Mr. Williams to sign his name three

times to some legal document. One of the Indians told afterwards that he was presented to some distinguished person in Paris, who asked him the name of the religious teacher in Oneida, and on his answering, "Eleazer Williams," he was asked if he was certain that Eleazer Williams was there, and on his saying, "Yes," he was dismissed. De Ferriere was poor when he went to Europe; he was rich when he returned home, and he afterwards kept up a correspondence with the royal family of France. The fact of his long residence in the neighbourhood of Eleazer Williams, and of his connection with the French king, renders it probable that he was stationed there to watch over the destinies of the abandoned Prince, being associated with Bellanger and Le Ray de Chaumont, and perhaps other agents, in the enterprise.

In the course of his investigation Mr. Hanson came upon certain other incidents which appeared to be connected with the secret of the Dauphin's concealment.

Towards the end of the year 1794, Duke de la Rochefoucauld Liancourt fled from the horrors of the Revolution in France, and came to Philadelphia, where he remained until May, 1795, when he started on a tour through the United States. After his return to France, he published his travels in a work of eight volumes; and among his experiences he relates that he, accompanied by another Frenchman and a servant, went from Philadelphia to Western New York, where they stayed awhile among the Oneida Indians, to which tribe he takes pains to say the St. Regis Indians belong. Afterwards they went to Canada, and associated with the Indians of that region. From Niagara they went to Kingston, where Liancourt remained while his friend Guillemard visited Quebec and Montreal. Later they returned to Oneida, where Col. de Ferriere

was then living. Thence they went to Albany, Troy, and Saratoga, being apparently in close vicinity to Lake George at the time of the delivery of the French boy to Thomas Williams.

From Saratoga they went to Massachusetts, and stayed nearly a week in the town of Marlborough, at an hotel kept by a Mr. Williams, a descendant of the same family to which Thomas Williams belonged. After visiting Boston, these French strangers returned to Mr. Williams' house in Marlborough, and went thence to Stockbridge, also a region full of Indians, where they made the acquaintance of another Mr. Williams, a man of social and political importance, founder of Williams College, and belonging to the same stock with the other persons of the name already mentioned.

The journeyings of Liancourt were so entirely out of the common route of foreign travellers, and his diligent pursuit of the Williams family forms so striking a coincidence with the event which occurred at about that time in the home of the half-breed Williams on Lake George, that the student of the mystery is permitted to suspect a connection between the French gentleman, travelling ostensibly for pleasure, and the secret agents of an unknown power appearing suddenly, with their unconscious victim, among the savages of the American forest.

The Williams family, although eminently respectable, were not more so than many other families of the same region, and not so likely as some other prominent citizens to be brought into contact with distinguished foreigners.

Liancourt's object may have been to ascertain the position of Thomas Williams' relatives of unmixed race and civilized habits, with a view to the future prospects of the royal exile; and the later arrangements for the boy's education may have

been connected with this singular journey, which could scarcely have been accidental, or prompted by any other circumstance than the recent arrival in the Indian hut of Thomas Williams.

Another probable clue is found in the wanderings of Louis Philippe during his exile in the United States.

Soon after landing in Philadelphia in 1796, he, with his two brothers, went to Western New York and to the neighbourhood of De Ferriere's home; later they went to New Orleans, where Bellanger was living. There is no complete account of these travels in existence; but it is very likely that Louis Philippe knew the facts about Eleazer Williams long before he sent his son to hunt him up in 1841.

Having exhausted all accessible sources of information, Mr. Hanson travelled to St. Lawrence County, in order to make direct inquiries of Mr. Williams, but failed to meet him, Mr. Williams being absent on a missionary tour. However, Mr. Hanson employed the occasion to ascertain particulars concerning the standing and reputation of Mr. Williams in the region where he had been best and longest known.

From every quarter he received only praise of the man for his excellent moral character and single-hearted devotion to his arduous profession; while equally unanimous was the belief that he had no relationship with the family to which he nominally belonged, and not even a partial connection by birth and blood with the Indian race. He learned also that the reputed mother of Williams preserved a mysterious silence concerning him, that Eleazer's name was not in the baptismal register among the names of the other Williams children; and that Thomas Williams and all of his offspring were dead,

having been carried off by consumption, while Eleazer was free from any tendency to that disease.

On the return journey, Mr. Hanson again visited Judge Spencer, of Albany, who told him that Professor Day, after his return from Europe, met Mr. Williams; and during the interview, brought out a number of engravings which he had collected during his absence. Williams catching sight of one, a portrait, cried out in great excitement,—

“ Good God! I know that face! It has haunted me all my life! ”

On looking for the name, it proved to be the portrait of the cruel Simon.

Mr. Hanson wrote to Professor Day for further particulars, and was told that before the engravings were produced Williams had spoken of a frightful face which had haunted him for years; and when he saw Simon's portrait—he could not see the name, as Professor Day kept that part of the picture covered—Williams said that the face was the same which had troubled him so long, excepting that the one he knew was bald-headed. In the picture the man wore a hat; but as the inscription showed that he was fifty-eight years old when he was guillotined, it is probable that he was then bald.

Judge Spencer said also that Williams told him of having heard from his reputed mother that when he was brought to the house two boxes containing clothing and other articles had been left there with him, one of which was carried off by a daughter of Thomas Williams when she married; the other was supposed to be concealed in Montreal. Among the relics were three medals—one of gold, one of silver, and one of copper, exactly alike in other respects, being the medals struck at the coronation of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. The Indians sold the gold and silver medals in Montreal;

the gold one being seen at a later period in the possession of the Catholic Bishop of either Montreal or Quebec ; the copper one was left, and subsequently was given to Mr. Williams.

Soon after Mr. Hanson's return to New York, he was visited by Mr. Williams, who had heard of the ineffectual trip to the north, and answered the summons in person.

Mr. Hanson improved the opportunity to the utmost, taking especial pains to examine and cross-question Mr. Williams concerning the interview with Prince de Joinville, and finding nothing to shake his faith in the narrator's honesty, while he was astonished at the comparative ignorance and indifference of Williams with regard to the bearing of some of the most important items of the evidence.

In the course of the conversation, Mr. Williams happened to mention his journal, and Mr. Hanson at once inquired whether he had noted the circumstances of the Prince's visit. He said he believed he had ; but it was a long time since he had examined his old papers, and most of them were at Green Bay ; however, some of his journals might be at Hogansburg.

On his return thither, he sent the journals for 1841 and 1848. As before stated, Williams acquired the habit of keeping a journal from the example of his first teacher, Mr. Ely, and began the practice in 1808, going back in his account of himself to 1800, the year of his arrival at school in Long Meadow, Massachusetts. From that time he had kept a record of the experiences of his life ; and in 1851 his journal numbered many volumes of manuscript. There were occasional breaks in the dates ; but, fortunately, none at all for several days previous to the story of the meeting with Prince de Joinville.

The general tone of the entries is earnest and devout ; the

language plain; the details concerning practical matters. Pious ejaculations frequently occur; and the impression left upon the reader is a strong conviction of the sincerity and simplicity of the writer's character.

Mr. Hanson, in his work, "The Lost Prince," published copious extracts from Mr. Williams' journals, beginning with the earliest records, and going on through the experiences of the war of 1812, to what happened before, during and after the revelation of the missionary's identity; but for the present purpose it is sufficient to quote what bears directly upon the question at issue.

Under the date of October 1st, 1841, occurs the following sentence, which proves that Mr. Williams was interrupted in important business and returned unexpectedly to the West:—

" . . . I am strongly urged by the American party to remain and sustain their claim; but there are certain circumstances which have come to my knowledge which hasten me to return as soon as possible to Green Bay."

October 4.—Mr. Williams was at Syracuse. After that date there is a break of a week; the next entry being: "Detroit, Oct. 11th, Monday.—Arrived here this morning, and expect to go on this afternoon. My reflections to-day and yesterday upon death, judgment and eternity have been lively. Oh, that they may lead me to live more in preparation for those solemn events! O merciful Father, grant me true contrition and unfeigned sorrow for all I have thought and done amiss; quicken me by Thy Holy Spirit and enable me to live to Thee, and to glorify Thee in my body and spirit, which are Thine. I trust the sickness with which I have been afflicted has a tendency to drive me to think more upon God."

"Oct. 14.—On board of the steamer. I have written to

Mr. Ogden, General Potter, and M. le Fort, the Onondoga chief."

"Oct. 15th, Friday evening.—On Lake Huron the day has been very pleasant. By the request of the passengers I officiated this evening; preached from Luke vi. 12. The audience were very attentive. I am again afflicted with a severe pain in my side. May I feel that I am in the midst of death, and so number my days that I may apply my heart unto wisdom. My son is somewhat unwell."

* * * * *

"Mackinac, Oct. 16th, Saturday.—The steamer arrived here at two o'clock p.m. My son is somewhat indisposed, and on that account I am more willing to remain here until the Green Bay boat comes. I have had a pleasant interview with Rev. Mr. Coit, of the Congregationalist Church. Mr. C. has spent his time much among the Chippeway Indians. In his labours of love he has been successful. I trust many souls have been converted under his ministry. Evening.—It is proposed to have the Divine Service to-morrow at the Presbyterian Meeting-house. In the morning I am to officiate.

"Mackinac, Oct. 17th, Sunday evening.—I performed the service this morning; all the gentlemen of the garrison, the soldiers and the citizens of the place were in attendance. My subject was upon Apostasy, which gave great offence to Mr. ——. I find he has been excommunicated for his apostasy. Truth will have its own weight upon the guilty conscience. Rev. Mr. Coit preached this afternoon to the same congregation; his discourse was well adapted to the occasion, and was heard with much attention. Several gentlemen of the place called upon me this evening, and I had a pleasant interview with them. I am invited to administer Holy Baptism to-morrow morning. Two soldiers called and asked for prayer-

books. I was only able to give them one, which was accompanied with some tracts. My son is much better—still complains of pain in the head. May God give him grace to be submissive to His Divine will.”

“On Lake Michigan, Oct. 18th, Monday.—The regular steamer for Green Bay (for which we have been waiting) arrived in the port of Mackinac to-day, at twelve o'clock. His Royal Highness Prince de Joinville and his suite were among the passengers. On landing, the Prince and his party went immediately to visit the Arch Rock. In the meantime I had an interview with Captain Shook, of the steamer, who stated that the Prince had made inquiries of him, two or three times since leaving Buffalo, about Mr. Williams, the missionary to the Indians at Green Bay, and that as he knew no other gentleman in this capacity, excepting myself, I must be the person, the object of his inquiry. I replied, ‘That cannot be, captain. He must mean another person, as I have no acquaintance with the Prince.’

“‘I shall now inform the Prince,’ said the captain, ‘that there is a gentleman on board of the same name as that of his inquiry, who is a missionary to the Indians at Green Bay.’

“Upon this the captain left me, and in about half an hour he returned, and was followed by a gentleman, to whom I was introduced as the Prince de Joinville. I was struck by the manner of his salutation. He appeared to be surprised and amazed as he grasped my hand in both of his, which was accompanied by strong and cheering gratulations of his having had an opportunity to meet me, and that upon the surface of one of the inland seas in the Western world. ‘Amazing sight!’ he continued; ‘it is what I have wished to see for this long time. I trust I shall not be intruding too much on your feelings and patience were I to ask you some

questions in relation to your past and present life among the Indians. We, the Europeans, to satisfy curiosity, are sometimes too inquisitive. But I presume, Rev. Sir, it will be a pleasure to you to satisfy the curiosity of the stranger now before you, who is travelling over the country and lakes which were first discovered by our forefathers.' His eyes were intently fixed upon me—eyeing my person from the crown of my head to the sole of my feet.

"The Prince in his cursory remarks upon the first adventures of the French in these Western wilds was interesting. He spoke of La Salle, Father Hennepin and Marquette (the latter the first discoverer of the river Mississippi) in strains of commendation, as men of great courage and possessing the spirit of enterprise in an unparalleled degree.

"He spoke also with regret of the loss of Canada to France. He would attribute this to the want of energy and foresight in the ministry; that France could have easily, at that period, sent twenty thousand men into Canada, to maintain her possessions in that quarter, as her naval force was then nearly equal to that of England."

"October 19, Tuesday.—This morning the Prince resumed his observations upon the French Revolution,—its rise, its progress, and its effects upon France, and more particularly to the United States,—which were affecting and touching in the extreme. The awful catastrophe that fell upon France, the dissolution of the royal family, and the destruction of the king, he strongly asserted originated from the American Revolution, and that the people in the United States can never be too grateful to the unfortunate Louis XVI. for his powerful interposition in their behalf. 'It is very evident,' said he, 'they do not duly appreciate the aid he afforded them in the

day of distress. It is very evident also that from the very day when the Court of Versailles formed an alliance with America, the operations of the British against them were paralysed. The naval force of France rendered more essential service to their cause than the land force. The Atlantic sea was soon covered with ships-of-war and privateers; these were a formidable barrier against England in sending her troops and munitions of war to America. In this war France lost thirty-five thousand men and twenty-five ships of the line. But for these powerful aids no monuments are raised to perpetuate their memory. Louis XVI. ought to be placed next to General Washington as a liberator of the American people. His interference in their behalf is attributed altogether to his political finesse and his hatred against England; hence he is not entitled to their praise or thanks. But, Rev. Sir, were the American people duly to consider the important aid he gave them in their struggle with the mother country, its happy result, and the dreadful catastrophe that fell upon his government, his family, and himself, he would truly and justly be considered as a martyr to American independence. The King encountered an opposition from the Count de Vergennes and the Court when he took the suffering cause of the Americans in hand. He was moved by the representation of the American commissioners, and the Queen was no less urgent to save the sinking cause of the American people. My grandfather and father were present when the last struggle took place between the King and the ministry upon the article of alliance with the United Colonies of America. That day—it was a happy day for Americans, but for the King it was the day of his death! Yes, Rev. Sir, on that day when the King put his name to the instrument, he sealed his death-warrant. The ingratitude of the American people towards the King's

memory is one of the darkest stains upon the stars and stripes of the American flag of independence.'

"This afternoon the Prince expressed his wish to take my son with him to France for an education. In connection with this he was informed that we had an infant who had not yet received baptism. He readily consented to stand as a godfather, and would give the name of his mother to the child. But, alas! on my first landing I received the melancholy intelligence that the lovely babe was in her grave—buried on the preceding Sunday; service performed by the Rev. Mr. Porter, of the Congregationalist Church. When the news was communicated to the Prince, he appeared to sympathise with me, and remarked, taking me by the hand, 'Descendant of a suffering race, may you be supported in this affliction.'

"About ten o'clock the Prince was pleased to enter into his remarks, more particularly upon the family of the unfortunate King, which were, at first with me, somewhat curious and interesting; but as he proceeded in his narration my feelings were greatly excited, as it filled my inward soul with poignant grief and sorrow, which were inexpressible. The intelligence was not only new but awful in its nature. To learn for the first time that I am connected by consanguinity with those whose history I had read with so much interest, and for whose sufferings in prison and the manner of their deaths I had moistened my cheeks with sympathetic tears. Is it so? Is it true that I am among the number who are thus destined to such degradation, from a mighty power to a helpless prisoner of the State, from a palace to a prison and a dungeon, to be exiled from one of the finest empires in Europe and to be a wanderer in the wilds of America, from the society of the most polite and accomplished courtiers, to be associated with the ignorant and degraded Indians? Degraded as they are as to

civilization and polite arts, yet I am consoled at the idea that I am among the lords of the soil of this western continent, who are as precious in the sight of Heaven as the usurpers of their territories! O my God! am I thus destined? 'Thy will be done.' To be informed that I had rights in Europe, and one of these was to be the first over a mighty kingdom; and this right is demanded of me to surrender, for an ample and splendid establishment. The intelligence was so unexpected, my mind was paralysed for a moment; it was overwhelming to my feelings. There was a tremor in my whole system, accompanied with a cold perspiration. The Prince saw my agitation, and left the room, with an excuse, for ten or fifteen minutes.

"A splendid parchment was spread before me for signature, to be affixed with the stamp and seal of Louis XVI. After consideration of several hours, weighing the subject with much and cool deliberation, it was respectfully refused. In those awful and momentous moments it was happy that my mind was carried to the similar proposition and offers made to Louis XVIII. by Napoleon in 1802. Being impelled from a sense of duty to sustain the honour of kings for centuries, the same answer was given,—

"'Though I am in poverty, sorrow and exile, I shall not sacrifice my honour.'

"Gracious God! What scene am I passing through this night? Is it in reality, or a dream? My refusal to the demand made of me I am sure can be no earthly good to me, but I save my honour, and it may be for the benefit of the generations yet unborn. It is the will of Heaven. I am in a state of obscurity. So shall I remain while in this pilgrimage state. I will endeavour with all humility to serve the King of Heaven, and to advance His holy cause

among the ignorant and benighted people, which has been my delight.

“Although the unexpected intelligence is a new source of trouble, which is already working in my inward soul with inexpressible sorrow, which will accompany me to my grave, yet I trust that almighty arm which has hitherto ‘preserved me will now sustain me. To the God of my salvation I fly for comfort and consolation in this hour of distress. Let Christ be all and in all. Saviour of the world, have mercy upon Thy unworthy servant,’ and for the glory of Thy name turn from him all those evils that he most justly has deserved, and grant that in all his troubles he may put his whole trust and confidence in Thy mercy, and evermore serve Thee in holiness and pureness of living, to Thy honour and glory. ‘For with God nothing is impossible.’ All that I have heard I will lay up in my heart with the greatest secrecy.”

“October 21, Thursday.—The Prince and suite left Green Bay yesterday at twelve o’clock, and lodged last night at Capt. John McCarty’s, on the opposite side of the river to my residence. It rained all the afternoon.

“The adieus between the Prince and myself were affectionate; he promised to write me on his arrival at New York. The gentlemen officers presented me with their cards; were urgent to give them a call, should I ever visit France. May the best blessing of Heaven rest upon the whole party.”

“October 23, Saturday.—I have commenced to collect materials for a letter to be sent to the Prince de Joinville, in compliance with his request. My mind has been agitated since his departure, in consequence of the intelligence he communicated to me, which is startling in its nature. May God support me in these trying times, and keep my mind in a proper frame.”

“ Little Kakalin. October 26.—Went down the Bay ; dined with Mr. Quindre. His lady (a Roman Catholic) informed me that the priest, Rev. Mr. Bondual, stated to her that the Prince was much pleased and highly gratified with his interview with me, and that the information I had communicated to him of the first visits of the French traders into this section of the country was of great value to him, etc. I heard from the Prince this afternoon. I find he and his party had lodged at Cato’s (a black man), in Stockbridge woods. This had created much laughter among some, I understand. He was compelled to do this, as there was no other house near, it being already dark and in the midst of a heavy rain.”

* * * * *

“ Oct. 31, Sunday evening.—This has been a solemn day with me on several accounts. My reflections have been upon my shortcomings to the great duties enjoined upon me by that holy religion which I profess. Why is it I am so much troubled with my spiritual state ? As to my foreign birth, it is not only new to me, but it is awful. This has changed my feelings materially. I am an unhappy man ; and in my sorrow and mournful state I would often, with a sigh, cry out, ‘ O my father ! O my mother ! It is done—it is past ; and O my God ! I would humbly submit to Thy holy will in that which Thou hast done towards us. Thou hast dealt towards us as Thou didst towards Nebuchadnezzar in the days of old. We are afflicted and in a situation of degradation and poverty. Shall we remain thus till we know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will ? Holy Father, remember not our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers, neither take Thou vengeance of our sins. Spare us, good Lord, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood, and be not angry with us for ever. Oh, grant

me grace to consecrate myself entirely to Thy service; and whatever painful trials I may be called on to sustain, wilt Thou support me under them, and at length deliver me from them, for Christ's sake?'"

* * * * *

"Nov. 18.—I have just returned from the Bay, and saw Mr. Ellis, who informed me Mr. Whitney had threatened to go against us in a suit. I have engaged Mr. F. to attend to this."

* * * * *

"Nov. 30.—From some circumstances which have transpired within two days past connected with the intelligence I have received from the Prince de Joinville, my mind has been, and is now, greatly exercised. Why should I think on this subject, which is so unpleasant, or rather so afflictive? Yet it obtrudes itself, as it were, into my mind in spite of my resistance. Oh, the fate of my dearest friends! My soul is troubled within me at times on account of them. I seek comfort and rest, but I find none. The awful intelligence has made me wretched, to which no language, no conception can be true. Hours have I spent in the solitary wilderness, mourning over my fate and the fate of my family. Why was it permitted that I should know this? But to God, the Judge of all, I leave it."

* * * * *

"Dec. 16.—Although I have had it in my head that I would read the history of the French Revolution, I have been afraid to read anything of the kind; but at length I have been induced to read a certain author, but my mind has been too much excited by the work, so that I have returned it to the owner."

* * * * *

“Dec. 24.—I am preparing to go down the Bay to attend the Christmas service at the Episcopal Church. Pleasant day. Somewhat indisposed.”

“Dec. 25, Saturday.—This has been a good day to me for my religious exercises. O blessed Jesus, I praise Thee that Thou wert manifested in the flesh to be the Saviour of the world. Save me from my sins, I humbly beseech Thee.”

The next extract taken by Mr. Hanson from Mr. Williams' journal is dated seven years later, and contains the death-bed confession of Bellanger.

“Green Bay, March 10, 1848.—In the letter I have received from Mr. Thomas Kimball, from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, my curiosity is somewhat excited, and it may be a novel news.

“He states that the information he received from a respectable gentleman was such a startling news with him as to induce him to communicate the intelligence to the person who was the subject of it, and with whom he was acquainted. He states by the death (in January last) of an aged and respectable French gentleman, either in New Orleans or Helena, that he made disclosures at the last hours of his life that he was the person who aided in the escape of the Dauphin, or the son of Louis XVI., King of France, from the Temple, in 1795, his transportation to North America, and his adoption among the Indians; all this that he may live and be hidden and live beyond the reach of his enemies who had been murderers of his royal parents; and that the person alluded to as the Dauphin is no other than the Rev. Eleazer Williams, the missionary to the Oneida Indians; and that the gentleman who had the principal agency in the escape of the Dauphin was strictly and solemnly bound by the sacramental oath of the Roman Catholic Church never to disclose, particularly in

Europe, of the descent or family of the royal youth whom he was about to convey to North America; and that it was not until he saw himself drawing near to a close of his earthly career that he would disclose the secret which had been locked up in his bosom for half a century, and that he would do this the more cheerfully now without infringing his conscience because he was in America, and that it may be a benefit to his most dear, beloved, but unfortunate friend the Dauphin. In uttering the last his whole frame was agitated, and he shed abundance of tears; and that near one of his last exclamations was, 'Oh, the Dauphin! May he be happy and restored!'

"The intelligence is so improbable, it had no weight nor consideration with me; and thinking at the same time there may be mistake as to the person, I shall wait patiently the meaning of all this for a further information from Mr. Kimball upon this new and mysterious subject."

"March 13.—Went to Green Bay and dined with the Rev. Mr. Porter, and had a long conference with Judge Aindt respecting the Oneidas, with whom he is at war in relation to some lumber which he purchased."

"March 15.—Went to the Sugar Camp with Mr. Wartmen to make some inquiries. This is a beautiful day, and it was delightful to be among the lofty pines."

"March 16.—Received some letters from my friends in Oneida, in one of which I am informed that my father is in a feeble state of health."

"March 18.—I wrote to-day to the Rev. Joshua Leavitt, of Boston, in which I recapitulated the intelligence I had received from Mr. Kimball, in relation to the Dauphin of France. On mature reflection upon the subject, I must confess the news is becoming more startling with me. It is true that I have no recollection of my existence in the world until at the

age of thirteen or fourteen ; what passed with me previous I am unable to decipher. Since my recollection is perfect, there are some incidents connected with my life, I must confess, which are strange, and which I am unable to reconcile with each other. The suspicion in the minds of some that I am not the son of Thomas Williams may be mistaken ; and the story of Vanderheyden of Albany, in 1814, has created in my mind an idea that I may be an adopted child, as I find the Iroquois have adopted more than sixteen persons of both sexes of the Canadian origin."

" March 24.—I have written to Mr. L., of Boston, and sent the letter containing the mysterious news in relation to my origin. Although this melancholy subject was communicated to me in 1841, and now again it is renewed and brought before me from another quarter, I may truly say that as often as the subject is brought to the mind the eyes of the afflicted man are filled with tears."

" Yes, in 1841, when the awful intelligence was communicated to me, my blood seemed to chill, and my heart to rush into my throat, and I became affected in a manner which I now find it difficult to describe. May I humbly submit to the will of Heaven. Oh, for more grace and Christian resignation !

" March 27.—Last evening there were several of the Oneidas lodged at my house, who made great inquiries after the history of the primitive Church. They were referred to the day of Pentecost, and I dwelt largely upon it. They were very thankful for the instruction."

" March 28.—Went to Grand Kakalin, called upon Mr. Grignor and dined with him, and soon Governor Doty joined with us.

" This evening I am invited to go to the Oneida settlement,

to attend the funeral of one of the warrior chiefs. He was a communicant."

"April 3.—Went to Green Bay and was at the Fort, and had a long conversation with ——. He is an infidel. May the Lord show him the error of his ways. I have had many such people to deal with."

Thus far the testimony of the journal. Surely no candid reader can refuse to believe in the genuineness of the documents.

Mr. Hanson saw the original manuscripts, and he said they were evidently written at the time alleged, those important entries occurring in regular order and so connected with what went before and followed after as to have made interpolation impossible.

Aside from its remarkable statements, this journal is of great value, both as a proof of the excellence of Mr. Williams' moral character and as showing his intellectual limitations, which last are sufficient to account for whatever appears strange and inconsistent in his conduct respecting this matter. Not only is the style of the composition that of a partially-educated foreigner, betraying an insufficient knowledge of the grammar and rhetoric of the English language, but the contents give evidence of a mind not altogether normal in its workings.

Thus, after knowing that Prince de Joinville desired and expected to meet him at Green Bay, he told the captain of the steamer that some other person must be meant, as he was not acquainted with the Prince; this apparent contradiction being afterwards explained by his acknowledged temporary conviction that after all the Prince must have been mistaken in supposing him to be the man he was looking for.

Again, having once become impressed with the idea that it was his duty to keep secret the announcement made by the Prince, he did not reason further, nor perceive that the very terms of his promise left him free to disclose what would injure his descendants to keep unrevealed.

Again, after recording several times the evidently severe mental struggles he underwent in consequence of the feelings awakened by the tardy knowledge of his early undeserved sufferings and his enduring, irreparable wrongs, he could forget that experience so far as to make the revelation of Belanger a surprise and a matter of doubt when, seven years later, it was offered to his contemplation, and could fail to perceive at first the immense importance of that discovery as a sequel to De Joinville's narration; just as he was afterwards unconscious of the value of his journal as evidence, and only spoke of its contents by accident in illustration of some other subject.

Mr. Hanson, in his process of investigation, was often struck by Mr. Williams' inability to grasp the connection between the various items of evidence which gradually accumulated in favour of the truth of his story.

It is plain that this man, exceptionally gifted by nature, was incurably hurt in body and mind by the cruelties inflicted upon him in childhood. Not only was his physical health extremely delicate, involving much suffering and frequent severe illnesses, also his mental balance was continually disturbed and threatened by the jarring contrast between inherited tastes and associations and the ideas and occupations imposed upon him through his transfer to a New World and a new existence, so that he never developed his real self, remaining always abnormal in character as in destiny.

One thing is certain: the man who could note such wonder-

ful facts in his journal and then go on living the same humble, self-denying life he led before, keeping the secret with all diligence because he considered his word pledged to silence, never regretting the worldly splendours he had rejected, indifferent to possible favours of fortune, even after the mystery had been solved by other agencies, and though profoundly unhappy, neither ambitious nor proud,—such a man cannot be accused of imposture, and the fact that Eleazer Williams did not demand his rights either for himself or his posterity is a strong proof that his claim was just and his story true.

It was in the autumn of 1851 that Mr. Hanson began the investigations which brought Eleazer Williams before the world as the lost Dauphin.

And just at this time the Dauphin's sister, the Duchess d'Angoulême, was dying in Europe, enduring in physical pain and mental anguish the last few days of a life hopelessly saddened through her knowledge of the secret which she could not control and dared not reveal.

She died October 19th, 1851, and on her deathbed she sent for General Larochejacquelein, an old and trusted friend of the exiled family, and said to him,—

“General, I have a fact, a very important fact, to reveal to you. It is the testament of a dying woman.

“My brother is not dead.

“This is the nightmare of my whole life. Promise me to use all possible means to find him. See the holy father; see Martin's children; travel by land and sea to discover some of the old servants or their descendants; for France can never be happy and tranquil until he is seated on the throne of his fathers. Swear to me that you will do what I ask. I shall at

least die in peace. It seems to me already that the weight upon my breast is less heavy.”

In this pathetic appeal it is evident that the Duchess was not thinking of any of the pretenders who had at different times arisen to mock her sorrow and disturb her privacy. Naundorff had died six years before; Richemont was living not far away. She meant the exile in a distant land, of whose fate she knew nothing excepting that he was still alive.

It is a curious coincidence that the first earnest endeavour to determine the identity of Eleazer Williams with the Dauphin should have begun at the close of the Duchess's life, and it is greatly to be regretted that the precise date of the meeting between the missionary and his biographer, and of other decisive steps in Mr. Hanson's proceedings, cannot now be ascertained.

The coincidence is the more striking from the fact that the main items of the secret were revealed in 1848, and yet the story slumbered three years longer, and seems not to have sent even a whisper across the sea.

A student of psychology might easily suspect a connection between the mental yearnings of the Duchess on her death-bed and Hanson's unconscious response in his sudden and generous devotion to the interests of the neglected missionary; while believers in a future life, and in the possibility of communication with departed spirits, might be pardoned for seeing in this array of circumstances a proof that the sister in her new sphere of existence had found out all the mystery, and was helping the brother whose misfortunes had destroyed her happiness on earth.

But, without seeking to go behind the facts of the case, it seems oppressively sad that the Duchess should have died

unconsoled, when, if she could have lived a few months longer, she might have heard of the wonderful discovery across the sea, which she, at least, would not have allowed to lapse into forgetfulness, and which, with her sympathetic aid, might have developed into absolute certainty for the world at large, while restoring happiness to the two beings who had suffered most from that long and cruel separation.

In October, 1852, Mr. Hanson wrote to Mr. Williams for any additional information he might be able to furnish, and asked his consent to the publication of the facts already noted.

In reply, Mr. Williams informed him that he had recently received a letter from the secretary of the President of the French Republic (Louis Napoleon) making respectful inquiries concerning the events of his life, also similar letters from several French bishops and from a cardinal; but he had not answered those letters, because the subject was very "afflictive" to him.

"It has been, and is," he continued, "a very great annoyance, from which I would gladly be delivered. You cannot be surprised, reverend sir, when I say that my feelings have been such at times as no pen can describe, no tongue express. I am in a state of exile among the Indians, and compelled at times to beg my bread, although connected with a Christian Church who has means in abundance to sustain her humble and self-denying missionary honourably. It is true I am allowed a little pittance, which is scarcely enough to clothe me; yet I still continue to labour patiently in the cause of my Divine Master, who suffered and died, but is now my exalted Saviour. I seek not an earthly crown, but heavenly, where we shall be made kings and priests unto God—to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Nothing keeps me in my present position but that gracious promise of my blessed

Saviour: 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'"

Mr. Williams' conduct respecting those very significant letters, together with the sentiments expressed in his private communication to Mr. Hanson, afford sufficient proof of the absence of any desire or endeavour to make himself the hero of a romantic story, and also show conclusively that the man was utterly incapable, not only of conceiving and carrying out a clever imposture, but even of making a judicious use of undeniable facts and of important evidence placed at his disposal.

The same lack of constructive ability is displayed throughout his whole career. A well-balanced mind, gifted with as much brightness as his undoubtedly possessed, would have recognised the existence of a mystery long before the secret was revealed, and would have been ready to combine the various pieces of evidence into an overwhelming mass of proof as soon as the right clue was offered. The visit of the French stranger and his deep emotion; Mrs. Williams' remark about "the strange boy"; the questions of his neighbours at Long Meadow; his own fleeting memories of childhood; Chevreux's inquiries respecting a French boy left among the Indians; the interest of the Romish priesthood in his affairs; Richard's suggestion that he was of higher rank than an Indian chief, and his intimation that the Abbé Calonne knew the secret; Le Ray de Chaumont's allusion to a member of the royal family living unknown in America; his own scribbling of the words "*duc*" and "*Loui*" during his mental derangement—all these items were links which only awaited Prince de Joinville's revelation to form an irrefragable chain of testimony.

Yet Eleazer Williams did not perceive the connection, and

never would, of himself, have attained the result; still less was it in his thoughts to make any ambitious use of the curiosity and interest which his presence invariably inspired.

It is obviously impossible to charge this man with imposture; his inability to appreciate his position was really another proof of his identity with the crippled and blighted scion of a royal stock.

In 1853, Mr. Hanson embodied his researches in an article entitled, "Have we a Bourbon among us?" which was published in the February number of *Putnam's Magazine* (New York), and created immediate and widespread interest among American readers, its contents becoming known also to a few inquiring minds in the Old World. Several copies were sent to France, and a German translation, prefaced by a long and sympathetic explanation, was printed the same year at Dessau.

In America, opinions concerning the revelation were diverse. Some persons considered the story too romantic to be true; others disbelieved in the existence of the journal; others, again, saw in the affair a deliberate plot on the part of certain Protestant clergymen to injure the Catholic Church; however, the majority of competent and unprejudiced judges of the testimony were convinced of its importance, and the desire was general to have the matter fully investigated.

At this time Mr. Williams was staying in New York, engaged in the publication of his translation of the Prayer-Book into the Mohawk language; an opportunity was thereby offered for a thorough examination of his claims, and he soon became the centre of interest to a large circle of intelligent observers. Among his visitors were many persons, especially Frenchmen, who were familiar with the physical characteristics of the Bourbon race, and were therefore extremely critical

in their study of Mr. Williams' personal appearance. In every case he stood the test of severe examination, the slight variations from the acknowledged type being entirely in harmony with the peculiarities of the Dauphin's face, as transmitted in authentic portraits. Thus, one Frenchman pronounced Mr. Williams' nose not sufficiently aquiline for the true Bourbon type; but the same difference was very marked in the nose of the Dauphin as a child. Again, some persons, trusting to descriptions of the Dauphin in popular histories, objected to the colour of Mr. Williams' eyes, which were brown, whereas, it was thought, they ought to be blue. But on investigation it was found that in an authentic portrait belonging to the Bryan Gallery in New York the eyes were hazel. This picture formerly belonged to a royalist, a well-known connoisseur and collector, M. Prousteau de Mont Louis, in Paris, and was bought by Mr. Bryan at the sale of the collection in 1851.

Other features and characteristics—the ear, the jaw, the form and pose of the head, the length of the body, the comparative shortness of the legs, the gestures of the hands—were in exact conformity to the distinguishing traits of the Bourbon family, the resemblance to Louis XVIII. being especially striking.

Two eminent portrait painters, Chevalier Fagnani and Mr. Muller, were among the persons who made a study of this subject, and their conclusions were decidedly in favour of the Bourbon theory. Muller, a pupil of David and Gros, was familiar with that type, and had been employed to take the picture of Louis XVIII. after death. He declared that the similarity was marked and minute, also that the eyes of Mr. Williams were exactly like those of the Dauphin in portraits he had seen in France.

Fagnani first saw Williams in a crowded room, and watched him for a time without approaching nearer, then turned aside, as though satisfied with his observations. A friend inquired :

“ Well, Fagnani, what do you think as to his being a Bourbon ? ”

And Fagnani replied : “ I don't think at all ; *I know !* ”

He also wrote a letter to Mr. Hanson, giving his opinion in full, and expressing his belief that Williams was the Dauphin ; and later he painted his portrait.

An European gentleman of high rank who happened to see Mr. Williams in the pulpit remarked to a friend beside him :

“ There, that is the Bourbon they have found, if there is any truth in physiognomy ! ” and afterwards he expressed his belief, founded on what he knew of the opinions of the Legitimist party, that the Dauphin was still alive, and his own conviction that Williams must be the man.

On one occasion a French officer, formerly belonging to the body-guard of Louis XVIII., said that the longer he observed Mr. Williams the more strongly he was reminded of the King, not only by the similarity of feature, but also of bearing and gesture.

Many Frenchmen, who before seeing Mr. Williams were entirely incredulous, changed their manner at once on coming into his presence, and began to speculate upon the probable political consequences of the discovery, not being able to comprehend that Mr. Williams' training and profession prevented any desire on his part for political elevation.

A natural son of Louis XVIII., Count de Balbi, was at that time in America, and the resemblance between him and Mr. Williams was so striking that many persons recognised the one from having seen the other ; also, strangers desirous of seeing Williams, and meeting him accidentally in the street,

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Has figure from a Cast of 'The Dauphin.'

accosted him by name, merely from his likeness to the Bourbon pictures.

All this would not have been so strange if Williams had been in Europe, where there are, doubtless, many illegitimate and unacknowledged Bourbons; but the fact became strongly significant when an individual exhibiting not only the traits of the Bourbon race in general, but of the lost Dauphin in particular, was found in the wilds of the opposite hemisphere, among savages with whom he had nothing in common.

An important witness to the individual characteristics of the Dauphin exists in the form of a curious relic, which for more than a hundred years has lent peculiar interest to the seaport town of Nantucket, Massachusetts.

This object is the wax figure of a baby brought to America from France in 1786 by Captain Jonathan Coffin on his last voyage, and evidently smuggled, having been secreted in the upper part of an old clock case. Captain Coffin never would tell where he got it, nor what he paid for it; but he declared that it was made from a cast of the Dauphin, taken when he was six months old. He brought it home as a pleasant surprise for his little daughter, he having already written her that he would bring her something no other child ever had.

The image is evidently taken from life; and, as no duplicates have ever been heard of, the captain's account is probably authentic.

The figure represents a baby in a sitting posture, and is as large as an infant of six months. The head, hands and feet are of wax; the body is of cloth, stuffed hard, like a doll. The hands and feet are dimpled, and beautifully moulded; the position of each member is different and strikingly natural; the ears are perfect; the hair is of combed wax, and remark-

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This figure from a Cast of 'The Clayton'

ably like real hair ; it is thick, but not curly. The eyes are dark ; the lips are open, showing a tooth. The colour of the face is like that of a mulatto ; and the change in the wax has been so gradual that no one can say what was the original hue. The expression is alert and intelligent ; the head is turned slightly to one side, and the eyes look eagerly forward, as though attracted towards some interesting object.

This doll was cherished as a great treasure by Captain Coffin's daughter for many years. Finally, pecuniary losses induced her to sell it to a playmate of her childhood, in whose family it is still retained.

It has always been one of the "sights" of Nantucket, and does good service in charitable enterprises of that region, when it is always exhibited for a fee, and brings in generous returns.

Nobody remembers now whether, or how, it was dressed on its arrival from France ; at present it wears white baby-clothes, in accordance with the asserted age of its prototype.

The artistic excellence of the work shows that it was a portrait figure, and not a toy ; and Captain Coffin's reticence respecting its antecedents would seem to imply some irregularity with regard to the original transfer of ownership.

People who have seen portraits of the Dauphin in France declare that this figure resembles those pictures, and has a thoroughly Bourbon cast of countenance.

It certainly resembles the portraits of Eleazer Williams ; and the fact that the eyes are dark and the hair not curly is another fatal argument against Naundorff's pretensions.

The next step in the process of investigation was the examination of Mr. Williams' body by three of the principal physicians of New York, Drs. Francis, Kissam, and Gerondelo,

who gave the result in a carefully written statement, which was duly published.

They decided that Mr. Williams was an European, presumably of French origin, he being entirely devoid of the anatomical peculiarities of the Indian race.

The scars on his knees, elbows, and wrists showed that in early life he had suffered from a morbid condition of the system, such as would be induced by impure air, unwholesome food and mental distress; but the tumours which caused those scars were evidently not scrofulous, although they might have been aggravated by a slight hereditary taint of that disease in the blood. There were traces of wounds over both eyes, the principal scar being on the right side of the forehead. The upper part of the left arm bore marks of inoculation, one of which was in the form of a crescent.

This scientific report is the more valuable because at the time it was made those physicians did not know that Dr. Dessault had declared that the tumours on the Dauphin's body were not scrofulous, but only aggravated by a slight scrofulous tendency, and they supposed the fact of the absence of developed scrofula fatal to the claim of Williams to be the Dauphin.

Afterwards it was discovered that their verdict coincided exactly with the opinion of Dessault. The scar over the right eye corresponded to the well-authenticated blow inflicted by Simon, which came near cutting out the Dauphin's eye.

The marks of inoculation were exceedingly valuable testimony, as inoculation was unknown to the Indians at the time of Eleazer's appearance among them, and the operation had not been performed within his remembrance.

Another physician, Dr. Walker, of Hogansburg, who knew Eleazer Williams well, and whose professional work was

largely among the St. Regis Indians, was asked to examine scientifically Mr. Williams and also several Indians, and give his report in writing.

He did so, declaring that Williams had no ethnological connection with the Indian race, his form, features, texture of skin and quality of hair being entirely different.

Immediately on the publication of Mr. Hanson's article in *Putnam's Magazine*, copies were sent to Prince de Joinville, whose reply was awaited with eager interest.

It came promptly, in the shape of a letter from the secretary of the Prince, M. Trognon, to the London agent of Mr. Putnam, and showed plainly the policy which the Prince was determined to pursue respecting the affair.

M. Trognon declared that at first the Prince was disposed to treat the absurd invention with the indifference it deserved ; but in view of the fact that a small portion of truth was mingled with the great mass of falsehood, he considered it wiser to state what really happened in his intercourse with this Pretender.

On arriving at Mackinac he met on board the steamer a passenger resembling the portrait in the magazine, whose name he had since forgotten. He entered into conversation with this man, who related many curious anecdotes respecting the connection of the French with the early history of North America, which he had learned from his father, who was of French origin (descended from a personage whose name the Prince preferred not to repeat), his mother being entirely Indian by descent. These communications were extremely interesting to the Prince, whose voyage to Mackinac, Green Bay, and the Upper Mississippi was undertaken expressly for the purpose of visiting the scenes made memorable by the

experiences of his countrymen in opening up those regions to civilization.

The Prince asked Mr. Williams (since that was the name of his interlocutor) to send him in writing all the information he could gather respecting the French settlements, and Mr. Williams, on his part, requested copies of documents upon the same subject from the French archives.

On arriving at Green Bay, where the Prince was detained half a day, owing to the difficulty of procuring horses for his journey, Mr. Williams invited him to visit an Indian settlement near the town; but he declined, and continued his journey as soon as possible. Afterwards, letters were exchanged between Mr. Williams and certain persons in the service of the Prince concerning the documents in question.

These facts constituted all there was of truth in the narration; the asserted revelation by the Prince respecting Mr. Williams' birth and the history of Louis XVII. being entirely imaginary and false.

In conclusion, any person desirous of ascertaining the fate of the Dauphin was advised to consult a book recently published in Paris by Beauchesne, containing the most circumstantial and positive details of the mournful tragedy.

This declaration of Prince de Joinville was intended to be final, and it really was accepted by many persons as sufficient proof of the absurdity of Mr. Williams' story.

But even a slight comparison of the Prince's statements with well established facts shows the falsity of his assertions.

He pretended that he was entirely ignorant of the existence of Eleazer Williams until he met him accidentally at Mackinac, the truth being that he began to ask about him immediately on landing at New York, and caused a letter to be sent to him which made him leave important business and

start for the West to meet the Prince at Green Bay, the place appointed for the rendezvous.

This fact of the early and frequently expressed desire of Prince de Joinville to meet Mr. Williams was testified to by persons in New York of whom he made intimate inquiries, also by Mr. George Raymond, then an officer in the Brazilian service, who was with the De Joinville party from New York to Green Bay, and to whom the Prince several times mentioned his strong wish to find Mr. Williams and have an interview with him; also by Mr. James O. Brayman, one of the editors of the *Buffalo Courier*, who was a passenger on the steamer which carried Prince de Joinville from Buffalo to Detroit and heard a conversation between the Prince and Mr. Beaubien, a citizen of Detroit, wherein the Prince asked many questions respecting the whereabouts and occupation, and even the personal appearance of Eleazer Williams, saying, in conclusion, "I shall see him before I return"; and finally by Captain Shook of the steamer *Columbus*, who introduced Mr. Williams at the Prince's request, and who was surprised at the emotion manifested by the Prince, and at the remarkable deference of his manner towards the humble missionary.

Mr. Williams' statement that he received a letter from Mr. Ogden, of New York, written at the request of the Prince, and desiring Mr. Williams to meet him at Green Bay, seems to be confirmed by the entries in his journal, and the fact that he left his business unfinished and started suddenly for Green Bay is attested to by his host at Hogansburg, who shortly afterwards received a letter from Williams, explaining that he left on account of an intimation that the Prince was on his way to Green Bay, and he was just in time to meet him on the route.

Mr. Ogden's letter was not produced in evidence; but if

preserved it was probably among the mass of papers left in Northern New York; although it is possible that Mr. Williams did not keep it, he being habitually careless in that respect, and at that time having no suspicion of the object of the Prince's desire for an interview, supposing it to have reference merely to historical information which an Indian missionary would be capable of furnishing.

This testimony shows also that the Prince could not have told the truth when he said that he had forgotten Mr. Williams' name, and there is further evidence to the same effect in the letters written at his dictation by his secretary some time after the Prince's return to France, to say nothing of the letter written by the King thanking Mr. Williams for his attentions to his son.

It is true that the communications on both sides had reference solely to historical information; but certain expressions contained in them appear to witness to the truth of Mr. Williams' account of the private interview between himself and the Prince.

Thus, in a note accompanying the first sending of memoranda, Mr. Williams gives as a reason for his pleasure in collecting such material:

"I am desirous to sustain the honour of the French name in these ends of the earth," which declaration would have no meaning if uttered by an Indian.

Again, in a letter written in 1843, he says to the Prince:

"To travel over the Western lakes and country, as you did, which were formerly traversed by the enterprising spirits of our forefathers, whose names are celebrated in America to this day, must have been highly gratifying."

That expression "our forefathers" could not have been used with propriety unless he knew that the Prince considered

him a Frenchman, nor even then to a person of the Prince's rank, unless he knew himself to belong to the same class.

The letters written to Mr. Williams at the command of the Prince, by his secretary, are exceedingly courteous, and in one of them Mr. Williams is assured that if he should ever visit France he would be received by the Prince with pleasure.

As a mere show of politeness such an invitation would have been in bad taste, as nothing was more unlikely than that the poor and obscure missionary would ever present himself at the French Court; but as an intimation that if he should change his mind respecting the Prince's offer an opportunity for negotiation would be granted the suggestion is explainable and pertinent.

The letter written by the King was merely to thank Mr. Williams for his attentions to the Prince; but although the contents were so unimportant, the fact of its being written at all is significant. That letter (together with those sent by the secretary of Louis Napoleon, and by the French ecclesiastics) was accidentally burned; but that it once existed is proved by a communication from the French Consul General, dated at New York, April 16th, 1844, which announces a letter and a parcel of books sent to Mr. Williams by the King of the French.

With regard to the contested nature of the interview between the Prince and Mr. Williams, there is a strong item of evidence in favour of Mr. Williams' veracity in the communication made in 1848, at Brest, to Mr. George Sumner, by a French naval officer who accompanied Prince de Joinville to Green Bay.

Taking pains before speaking to ascertain that there was no one else within hearing, he told Sumner that there was something very singular in the American trip of the Prince, who went out of his way to meet an old man among the Indians,

who had very much of a Bourbon aspect, and who was spoken of as the son of Louis XVI.

Now this supposition of Mr. Williams being the Dauphin must have originated in the party of the Prince, for at that time such a theory had never been advanced in America, and, according to the Prince's own story, Mr. Williams spoke of his mother as a full-blooded Indian.

The officer was right in another respect. De Joinville most certainly "went out of his way" in visiting Green Bay, if, as he asserted, the object of his journey was to see places connected with early French history in America.

There was nothing of interest in or near Green Bay for such a traveller. Indeed, the route taken by the Prince is in itself strong evidence of some ulterior purpose in his wanderings, for he turned aside from regions full of French associations and went directly to a village containing only a modern palisade fort, surrounded by a few insignificant Indian settlements, going from thence by equally uninteresting ways, and apparently as fast as the limited conveniences of travel would allow, to St. Louis, and so on to other great centres of present enterprise.

Another interesting bit of collateral evidence is the statement of an intelligent woman, a teacher in the Mission School at Green Bay, who declared that there was some great mystery about the visit of Prince de Joinville. She was much surprised at the deference of the Prince's manner towards Mr. Williams, and was struck by the change in Mr. Williams' conduct after the departure of the Prince. She said he often appeared abstracted, and as though suffering from some strong emotion.

With regard to the motives of Louis Philippe in making Eleazer Williams acquainted with his origin, the opinion

generally entertained by persons who accept the identity of Williams with the Dauphin is the only satisfactory one—namely, that Louis Philippe, having been elected by the people, depended upon popular consent for continuance in his position, and knowing that the secret of the Dauphin's existence was in the possession of a number of persons besides himself, and might be disclosed at any favourable moment, he thought it wiser to forestall a possible crisis by obtaining the signature of Louis XVII. to an abdication of his rights, offering in exchange a bribe supposed to be sufficiently tempting to win the immediate acquiescence of the companion of savages in a wild country. This attempt having failed, it seemed necessary to ignore the whole proceeding, and deny from beginning to end the statements of the other party.

A plan of this kind to ensure the adherence of the Legitimists appears probable, in view of the King's effort to obtain the favour of the Bonapartists by bringing back the ashes of Napoleon to rest in French soil, he, doubtless, thinking that one powerful claimant of the throne being dead without a direct heir, while the other was obviously unfit to govern, all parties would accept his own dynasty as the best solution of political difficulties.

The result proved that he had blundered in both directions. De Joinville's public mission to St. Helena was as fatal as his secret errand to Green Bay: the presence of Napoleon's gorgeous tomb in Paris was a signal for the impulsive French people to rally around his presumptive heir, and the suspicion that the nation had been deceived in the cruel abduction of the lawful king has undermined and overthrown every subsequent attempt to establish an enduring monarchical government in France.

It is probable that the moving cause of Louis Philippe's

action just at this time was the embarrassment resulting from Naundorff's importunity.

Already, in 1838, two years before, Prince de Joinville had visited America, and, leaving his ships at Newport, had gone into the interior, nobody knew where or why. His mission, whatever it may have been, was kept secret; but soon after his return to France an inquiry was made of the Vice-Consul at Newport for the whereabouts of two persons, formerly servants of Marie Antoinette, who went to America during the French Revolution.

This description would seem to point to Monsieur and Madame de Jardin, who had charge of an apparently imbecile boy in Albany, in 1795, and who disappeared mysteriously a short time before "the strange boy" was left among the Indians on Lake George.

Naundorff was evidently not feared on his own account, but his determined agitation threatened continually to lead to the discovery of the true heir to the throne; and the dread of such a result, added to the necessity of conciliating all parties, in order to strengthen the frail tenure of an elective monarchy, was probably what induced Louis Philippe to make a proposal which, under the circumstances, he might naturally suppose would be accepted without hesitation.

The unexpected refusal of the exiled King to surrender his rights left the embarrassed ruler no other apparent resource than to deny the whole transaction, and his determined attitude rendered it almost impossible for the less powerful keepers of the secret to avow the truth, especially as Eleazer Williams was manifestly unfit for the position to which he was born, and to proclaim him King would bring new confusion into the nation, still aghast over the horrors of the recent Revolution.

In the discussion of this interesting question public opinion

naturally demanded the testimony of the earliest protectors of Eleazer Williams ; but for a time nothing was to be obtained from that source. Thomas Williams and all his children were dead ; there remained only his wife, an Indian woman, ignorant, superstitious, and very old.

Eleazer Williams confessed that he ought to have applied to her immediately after Prince de Joinville's revelation ; but she was living in the old home, and he was busy in Green Bay ; so that he did not see her until after his story had begun to be talked about, and then it was apparently too late. She would not vouchsafe any information, and the Indians of St. Regis told Mr. Williams that the Catholic priests had frightened her into silence by telling her that if Eleazer should prove to be heir to a throne on the other side of the Great Salt Lake, he, being a Protestant, would do great injury to the Church and cause the ruin of many souls.

However, it was proved that the baptismal register at Caughnawaga, which the priest certified to be correct, did not contain Eleazer's name, while the dates of birth of the other children occurred at too short intervals to admit of his belonging to the number, unless as a twin of one of the infants named.

But the importance of this woman as a witness was so manifestly great that the opponents of the Dauphin theory resolved to win her to their side at all hazards, and accordingly the priest of St. Regis was employed to procure her affidavit declaring Eleazer to be her son. This paper was taken to France by a M. de Courcey of New York, and sent back from thence to be published in the *Courrier des États Unis*, in New York.

The matter was investigated, and it was found that Mrs. Williams had given her testimony in the Indian language,

which the presiding lawyer did not understand, the priest of St. Regis having acted an interpreter.

On being informed of the contents of the affidavit, Mrs. Williams denied having made such statements, and she consented to appear before the justice and tell her story over again. She did so; and although much harassed by the priests and the Catholic Indians, she would not change any of her declarations.

In her second affidavit she said that Eleazer was an adopted child, and she used the Indian word which means adopted from a foreign nation, instead of from another Indian tribe. That settled the question.

At the time when M. de Courcey started for France to send back the false affidavit for publication in America, Rev. Mr. Hanson left New York for New Orleans, in consequence of a message sent to Rev. Dr. Hawks, informing him that a lady in New Orleans was able to give important testimony in relation to the lost Dauphin.

The witness proved to be a foreigner, a woman seventy-five years old, and slowly dying of cancer in the breast, but entirely sane, and with mind unimpaired.

She had lived since 1820 in New Orleans, and had repeated the statement alluded to for many years to several intimate friends, who had listened to the story with interest, but had not given it serious attention, because they did not suppose that any practical results would ever grow out of the circumstances.

On Mr. Hanson's arrival, this woman willingly consented to give him all the information in her power, and her account was accordingly taken down in due form, under oath and in the presence of a respectable lawyer.

She said she was not certain whether she was born in

France or in Scotland ; but she was educated in Edinburgh, where she married a French Republican named Benjamin Oliver, who took her to the Continent, where she soon obtained a divorce from him, and returned to Edinburgh. In 1804, she married Joseph Deboit, secretary to Count d'Artois, who was then residing in Holyrood House. Deboit had formerly been in the service of Louis XVI., and he it was who handed the young Dauphin into the carriage on the night of the unsuccessful flight to Varennes.

Soon after her marriage, Count d'Artois went to the Continent ; but she remained in the palace at Holyrood until after his return to England. In 1807, she joined her husband in London, where she first met Count de Lisle (afterwards Louis XVIII.) and the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême. Through her husband's confidential position, she became intimately acquainted with all those personages, especially with Duchess d'Angoulême. She heard the Dauphin frequently mentioned among them, and her husband told her he was not dead, but carried away for safety. She asked the Duchess if that was true, and the Duchess told her, with apparent pleasure, that her brother was safe in America.

Later, she heard that a Royalist, named Bellanger, was the person who removed the Prince. Being told these things in confidence, she did not mention them to other persons ; but she knew that all the royal family were aware of the facts.

After a time she returned with her husband to Holyrood House, and he died there ; but she continued to be employed by the Bourbons until the Restoration.

In 1809, she went to France, where, at Morley, she married an American sea-captain, named George Brown, and she remained at Morley while he was away on voyages. In 1813, she was summoned by General Moreau to carry dispatches to

Count de Lisle and Count d'Artois, who were in London, she being furnished with a badge ornamented with *fleurs de lis*, which she found useful as a passport on several occasions. Before her connection with the royal family ceased, the Duke d'Angoulême examined her papers, and carried away all that related to the private affairs of the Bourbons. Her mission being accomplished, she returned to France and went to sea with her husband.

After various adventures, they landed in Brazil, and she kept school for a time in San Salvador. Later, they started for New York; but her husband died at sea, June 7th, 1815; and after staying a few months in New York, she went to Havana, as housekeeper for the well-known firm of Grey & Fernandez.

Business recalled her to Europe, and she lived some time in Edinburgh with a former acquaintance, Mrs. Chamberlaw, whose husband had been secretary to Count de Coigny, an intimate friend of Count d'Artois.

Mrs. Chamberlaw accompanied the royal family to Paris, and had lately returned from the Tuileries, where she heard that the Dauphin was alive, and had been carried by a man named Bellanger to Philadelphia, where he was still living, being known as Williams, an Indian missionary. Mrs. Chamberlaw said that the Dauphin's future was often a subject of discussion in the palace; the royal family agreed that he was incompetent to reign, and that his return as king would only increase the difficulties of the political situation.

A man came from America to confer with them on the subject while she was there, and she saw him.

People in the palace thought at first that Louis XVII. himself had come back. Money was given to the man, and he returned to America.

After Mrs. Brown had finished her recital, which she declared on the word of a dying Christian to be entirely true, Mr. Hanson gave her his articles in *Putnam's Magazine*, of which she had never heard, and showed her a crayon sketch of Mr. Williams, by Fagnani. She recognised at once the Bourbon features, and expressed her firm conviction that Williams was the lost Dauphin.

Mr. Hanson afterwards applied for confirmation of the story to a lady, Mrs. Reid, sister-in-law of Commodore Patterson, who had known Mrs. Brown a long time. Mrs. Reid stated that she was introduced seventeen years before to Mrs. Brown as a person who had been intimate with the royal family of France, and that for twelve or thirteen years she had told her all the particulars given in the affidavit, especially that the Dauphin had been rescued from the Temple by a man named Bellanger, and had been carried to Philadelphia, and was known as Williams, an Indian missionary. Until a few weeks before Mr. Hanson's arrival, Mrs. Reid had never heard anything more about Eleazer Williams, and she had not yet read the *Putnam* articles. She referred Mr. Hanson to Mr. Whitall, an Episcopal missionary in New Orleans, who affirmed the excellence of Mrs. Reid's character, and declared that she had told him Mrs. Brown's story repeatedly for years. The statements of Mrs. Brown, Mrs. Reid, and Mr. Whitall were sworn to before a well-known justice, named Lugenbahl, who testified to the reliability of all these witnesses.

Mr. Hanson endeavoured to find traces of Bellanger, but succeeded only in establishing the fact that in 1848 a paragraph did really appear in the city papers, stating that a man, named Bellanger, had confessed on his death-bed that he brought the Dauphin to America. The name Bellanger was not uncommon in New Orleans; besides several tradesmen,

there was a Bellanger who was a friend of Le Ray de Chaumont and Colonel de Ferrière, and another who had been a minister under Louis XVI.; but the antecedents of the man who made the confession could not be established. He was probably the Bellanger who knew Le Ray de Chaumont and Colonel de Ferrière, and who had once lived in Philadelphia; most probably, also, it was Bellanger who visited Eleazer Williams on Lake George, and wept over the low estate to which the once blooming and happy young Prince had been reduced. Bellanger would have been likely to be on confidential terms with Le Ray de Chaumont and Colonel de Ferrière, and all three men were still alive and in America when Louis Philippe was an exile there.

However, the fact remains that Eleazer Williams heard of Bellanger as the man who brought the Dauphin to America years before he knew that there was really a Bellanger who was an agent of Louis XVIII., and who was known to have visited the Dauphin in the Temple just before his supposed escape.

Also, Mrs. Brown's account shows that in 1807 Bellanger was mentioned in the Tuileries as having rescued the Dauphin and taken him to America, where he was known as Williams, an Indian missionary.

The evidence accumulated through the honest and careful investigations made with untiring zeal by Rev. Mr. Hanson was sufficient to convince any unprejudiced mind of the identity of Eleazer Williams with the lost Prince; but, unfortunately, many minds were not unprejudiced, and consequently such refused to be convinced.

The assertions of Prince de Joinville were accepted as final by persons who were apparently influenced by the rank and position of the missionary's chief opponent, his state-

ments themselves being easily controverted by undeniable facts.

Also, the efforts of a certain member of the Williams family, Dr. Stephen Williams, to overthrow the claims of his supposed relative were productive of widespread and lasting effects, although his testimony is of no value whatever as regards the main question at issue.

Dr. Williams published in 1847 an elaborate work entitled, "Genealogy and History of the Williams Family in America," wherein there is a fanciful and very untruthful account of Eleazer Williams and his wife and son; but no mention is made of the visit of Prince de Joinville, nor of the asserted identity with the lost Dauphin. In that record Eleazer's wife is stated to be a distant relative of the King of France (meaning Louis Philippe, King of the French), and to have received many splendid gifts, among others a gold cross and star, from him; also, Eleazer's son is asserted to be at that time (1846) on a visit to the King, by his request, absurdities which Mr. Williams could not by any possibility have uttered.

After Mr. Williams' story was made public, Dr. Williams took pains to deny its truth in an Appendix and Notes to a new edition of "The Redeemed Captive," a book containing a history of the family carried off by the Indians from Deerfield in 1704.

In this work he repeated the statements concerning Eleazer's wife, Mary Jourdain, but omitted the item concerning the visit of the boy John to the French king. Dr. Williams' unreliability as a witness is proved by his statement on one page, that Eleazer never made the most distant allusion to his having had an interview with Prince de Joinville, and on another, that Eleazer frequently told him and his family that this visit from the Prince was in consequence of

his relationship with Eleazer's wife, and that the presents were given for the same reason.

Another argument advanced by Dr. Williams was that Eleazer Williams' skin was of the Indian colour, which assertion is entirely contradicted by the written report of three physicians, to say nothing of the testimony of many other persons.

Still another argument was the fact that Mr. Williams continued to speak of the Williams family as his relatives, after his pretended discovery of his identity with Louis XVII.

Mr. Williams wrote a long and dignified letter to Dr. Stephen Williams in reply to his charges, justifying his silence with regard to Prince de Joinville on the ground that he had only the private assurances of the Prince to offer in testimony, and did not at that time expect that the matter would ever come before the public, explaining his continuing to speak of the Williams family as his relatives as the natural following of a long habit, just as he had continued to call himself Eleazer Williams, and the Indian woman, Mary Ann Williams, his mother, and denying altogether having ever uttered the absurdities chronicled respecting his wife and son. His wife, he said, was supposed to be a member of the family of Marshal Jourdain, and as for the cross and star, he received them from the family of Thomas Williams. Also, he had never asserted that his reputed mother was a French woman, knowing, as he did, that she was almost a full-blooded Indian.

Dr. Williams' attempt to show by "direct and positive evidence" that the Dauphin really died in the Temple was of course a failure, as it is now admitted that no direct and positive evidence of such an event is in existence.

The determined efforts of a few individuals in America and Europe to ridicule the pretensions of Mr. Williams, and to

throw discredit upon the startling testimony of reliable witnesses to the truth of his story, were for a time successful, so far as to produce harmful results in mind, body and estate to Mr. Williams, and to prevent the further investigation of his claim in America and France.

The state of public opinion everywhere at that date was inimical to a just consideration of the rights of royal personages, and the Bourbon race was regarded with special disfavour, excepting by a small party in France, whose credulity as regards pretenders had been severely taxed by the exploits of a succession of impostors, ending in Naundorff, the most adroit one of them all.

The few persons who knew the secret were determined to keep it from disclosure; the many who believed in the Dauphin's continued existence did not know where to look for him, and the suggestive information sent from America was suppressed by interested parties as quickly and as effectively as possible.

In America, the mingled apathy and opposition of the general public is explained by the thoroughly democratic sentiments of the people. The same decided rejection of the monarchical system of government which showed itself in hatred of, or indifference to, all members of the royal class made it possible for one of the Williams family to declare that if he could believe that Eleazer was not a descendant of Eunice Williams, *but only a son of Louis XVI.*, he should feel no further interest in him; and for the great mass of Americans to ignore the whole matter, and not care whether one of the saddest tragedies ever enacted in this sad world had found its sequel in the troubled experiences of one of their fellow-citizens, a sequel which might have known a happier ending if they had acted differently.

It is impossible to deny that a great change has taken place in public sentiment in this respect within the last fifty years. If that mystery had come to light in 1893, instead of 1853, it would have met with a far different reception. Whether this change is to be welcomed or deplored is another question; at any rate it ought to be a subject of lasting reproach to our civilization and of regret to our individual feeling that Eleazer Williams in his old age was left to bear his unprecedented trial almost alone, bereft of the temporal comforts which were his due in simple justice for the efficient help he had rendered his adopted country in his various callings, and deprived of the sympathy which would have lightened the overwhelming burden imposed upon his weary soul through the knowledge of the wrong which had wrecked his whole existence.

Little is known respecting the last years of Mr. Williams' life. He went back to his Western home and his humble duties; but his heart was not in his work as formerly; it could not be. He was profoundly unhappy, and for his grief there was no possibility of cure. His energetic defender, Rev. Mr. Hanson, died, and no other champion came forward to continue the unequal contest.

The Episcopal Church appeared to consider its dignity assailed and its reputation injured by the notoriety of the quasi-royal missionary, and there was a general endeavour to silence the discussion and ignore the event.

Under no circumstances could Eleazer Williams have risen to an important position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Neither his intellect nor his education warranted his being called to a high place; but he had done useful work among the Indians as a preacher and practiser of good morals, and as a protector of the rights of the red-skins in their

relations to their white neighbours and to the general government. His imposing presence, his graceful suavity of manner, lent additional charm to words and actions prompted by genuine kindness of heart; his influence was great, and extended to all classes of persons with whom he came in contact. Mr. Hanson, as an entire stranger, was first attracted through his observation of Mr. Williams' extreme gentleness and helpfulness towards a party of travelling Indians, and the same winning traits accompanied all his dealings with the aborigines.

His pulpit oratory pleased the simple natives greatly; because it was plain and practical, and at the same time florid in style; but more highly cultivated audiences found his logic defective and his ideas erratic, the traces of that fatal blight which fell upon his infancy becoming more perceptible in the years when discretion is demanded than during his brilliant and promising youth.

After the revelation of his birth, Eleazer Williams seemed to have no rightful place among his fellow-men.

Ignored by his royal kin across the sea; regarded askance by his spiritual brethren in the ministry; separated from his supposed Indian relatives, through their recognition of his alien ancestry; unfitted alike for the position to which he was born and for the work which circumstance had imposed upon him; all the gracious instincts and longings, which had formerly been repressed as fanciful dreams, arising now in full force as inherited tendencies, only to be palsied by the depressing influences of the untutored life which lay between; surely few human beings have ever been subjected to greater humiliation or more bitter sorrow than this victim of ambitious envy was called upon to bear, although his affliction was mercifully tempered by the induced defects

which had prevented his full development throughout his unfortunate career.

In comparison with what he might have been, he was a wreck and a ruin; but his predominating trait was always an unselfish desire to do good to others, and his sacrifice will not have been in vain if his story serves as another convincing argument for the final abolishment of a system of human government which tempts to such cruelties and leads to such crimes as are involved in the tragical fate of the Dauphin, Louis XVII.

Eleazer Williams died August 28th, 1858, at Hogansburg, N. Y., where, after 1854, he had spent the greater part of his time, engaged in missionary work, his family remaining at their home on Fox River, near Green Bay. He lived in a small house built for his use by the Rev. Mr. Hanson, and his simple wants were ministered to by a faithful squaw. The lot upon which the house stood was bought for Church purposes, chiefly through Mr. Williams' exertions, and the house is now a parsonage, a beautiful little church having recently been erected on the premises. Mr. Williams' life at Hogansburg was exceedingly quiet. His correspondence was very large, and his time was principally spent in reading and writing.

A short time before his death his name again went the round of the papers in connection with an alarm which he experienced in an hotel in Washington, while on a journey to attend a convention of the Episcopal Church. He considered that he had narrowly escaped assassination, and probably his suspicion was well founded; but public opinion decided that he was needlessly frightened, the popular belief being that he had gone crazy over the idea of his being the "Lost Prince."

In this careless manner the subject was discussed and soon forgotten, and the unhappy missionary went his way, faithful to his duties for the few remaining days he had to live.

His grave in the cemetery at Hogansburg is marked by a headstone, erected by his son, and bearing his name and the date of his death.

His wife survived him many years, dying in 1886. Of his three children, the two daughters died in infancy; the son lived to maturity, and died in 1884, leaving a son.

The family are now living in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, U. S. A.



PART II.

THE PRETENDERS.

Since the tragedy of the Temple, individuals have from time to time announced themselves, or been put forward by others, as the Dauphin, escaped from prison; but only a few of these persons have succeeded in gaining public attention, and securing adherents to their cause.

CHAPTER V.

HERVAGAUT.

THE first of those temporarily successful adventurers was Jean Marie Hervagault, son of a tailor living at Saint Lo, a beautiful, ignorant and vicious youth, who, in 1796, at the age of fourteen years, ran away from home to follow the career of a vagabond.

At first he pretended to belong to a distinguished family ruined by the Revolution, and in that character he prospered until arrested at Cherbourg as a vagrant, when he was discovered and reclaimed by his father. He soon escaped from parental control, and wandered to a greater distance, telling different stories in different places, assuming the names of various illustrious families, and setting his pretensions higher and higher as he perceived the success of his inventions. At this stage of his career he was dressed as a woman, under the pretence of being able to travel with more security in that disguise.

After a time he was arrested at Bayeux, and at the end of a few weeks' imprisonment was restored to his father. But he would not stay at home, and soon started off again, this time in his proper dress. He began his exploits in the neighbourhood of Alençon, where he claimed to belong to the family of Montmorency.

Afterwards he adopted other titles, and finally, when im-

prisoned at Chalons, he announced himself as the Dauphin of France, son of Louis XVI.

This bold pretension was supported at once by a number of credulous ladies; and even after the prisoner had been examined by the magistrate, and had confessed his real name, these infatuated dames and damsels refused to accept his retraction, and persisted in believing, and making other people believe, that the Dauphin was really in their midst.

After his imprisonment was ended, he was carried off in triumph by his adherents, and passed around from one chateau to another, followed everywhere by an admiring throng of courtiers, who vied with each other in demonstrations of servility. This extravagant adulation awakened the attention of the police; Fouché received notice of what was going on, and he ordered the arrest of the Pretender. He was put in prison, but was allowed great liberty and lived in luxury, being ministered to continually by his faithful vassals, who were permitted free access to his place of detention. He became a drunkard, and was so exacting in his demands for delicacies of the palate that he one day kicked away his dinner because it consisted of nothing better than a chicken, a pigeon, a cream, and a salad. The Mayor of Vitry at last considered that it was time to interfere.

Hervagault was tried before the court, and sentenced to four years' imprisonment as a vagabond. He appealed against the sentence, and another trial was appointed before the criminal court at Rheims. Hervagault was thereby brought into public notice, and the excitement over his story became general and intense.

A powerful supporter of his cause appeared in the venerable Bishop of Viviers, his adherence being founded upon his knowledge of the fact that the physicians who conducted the

post-mortem examination in the Temple acknowledged their inability to testify that the dead body they saw was that of the Dauphin.

The tribunal of Rheims sentenced Hervagault to four years' imprisonment, and he was kept there for a time; but, as before, he was treated with great distinction and offerings poured in from all directions, so that the authorities removed him to Soissons, where the same comedy was continued, until the Government interfered, and the interesting captive was transferred to some prison where he was not accessible to the public. The excitement gradually died away, and the only later official report concerning Hervagault was the statement of his death in the Bicetre prison of Paris in 1815.

Naundorff's assertion that Hervagault was a child substituted for the Dauphin (meaning himself) is completely refuted by the authentic testimony concerning Hervagault's early career.

Naundorff seems to have started that theory to account for Hervagault's story; the truth being that in 1795, soon after the supposed death of the Dauphin, a published story (probably entirely fanciful) was in circulation, the incidents of which were repeated in Hervagault's narrative a few years later, and served also as the basis of the stories compiled by Bruneau, Richemont and Naundorff. That first account, like all the subsequent descriptions, started on the false assumption that the Dauphin was rescued by the Vendéean party and carried to La Vendée, instead of being put out of the way by the Count de Provence, and sent in quite another direction.

The basket of linen may have figured in the real event, and the unknown author of that early romance had possibly come into possession of suspicious facts which pointed to a myste-

rious evasion ; but as the Vendéean chiefs were expecting the transfer of the royal children into their hands on the thirteenth of June, according to the provisions of a secret treaty, they would not have been likely to form a dangerous plot for the abduction of the Dauphin on the eighth of June ; whereas, the Count de Provence, being determined to prevent the fulfilment of that treaty, would naturally take measures to remove the child before the time appointed for his transfer to his loyal subjects.

Hervagault's story followed the romance of 1795 exactly, so far as the evasion was concerned. He said he was carried out of the Temple in a basket of linen, from which a boy of his own age had been taken and placed in his bed. Afterwards he was conducted to the army in La Vendée by General Frotté, who was the principal agent in his rescue. The later incidents of his pretended wanderings, his flattering reception by the sovereigns of Portugal, England and Germany, his solemn recognition by Pope Pius VI., who caused him to be branded with royal insignia, as indestructible proofs of identity, his alliance with the royalist party in France, defeated by the success of Napoleon, are of no value, excepting as furnishing hints to later impostors ; the fact being established that during all those years Hervagault's field of activity was the north-eastern corner of France, while the theory of Naundorff and his partisans that Hervagault did not die in prison in 1815, but continued to be what he had been from the beginning—namely, an agent of the Government for the purpose of preventing the return and recognition of the real Dauphin, and to that end made to reappear in the persons of Bruneau and Richemont—is an absurd suggestion entirely unsupported by facts, and even if true, would have no connection with the question of the identity of Louis XVII.

CHAPTER VI.

MATHURIN BRUNEAU.

IN September, 1815, a new Pretender appeared in the person of Mathurin Bruneau, a shoemaker, born at Vezins (Maine et Loire), May 10th, 1784, who landed at St. Malo, having an American passport. He was suffered to run his course for awhile, but his influence becoming dangerous to the public peace, he was arrested in December of the same year, and sent in January, 1816, to the Bicetre prison, in Rouen. He was tried in December, 1817, and in January, 1818, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment. He was said to have died in prison, April 26th, 1822.

Mathurin Bruneau was a coarse, ignorant man, whose conduct on his trial was so lawless and disrespectful as to prevent any sympathy with his alleged misfortunes.

His story was compiled from the narrative of Hervagault, enriched by details borrowed from a romance entitled, *The Cemetery of the Madelaine*, which purported to be an historical record of the experiences of the royal prisoners in the Temple. He also told of wanderings in the United States and in South America.

Naundorff's biographer asserts that another Pretender was confined in the same prison at the same time with Mathurin Bruneau, and was called by his name, and was finally sent secretly out of the country; this mysterious double being in reality Marassin, the French officer commissioned by Naun-

dorff in 1816 to personate the Dauphin in his behalf, and afterwards to announce the speedy coming of the veritable Prince. This man is declared to have been spoken of as an entire contrast to the real Mathurin Bruneau in looks and manners, and to have had in his possession letters and other papers of great importance addressed to the Duchess d'Angoulême and other members of the royal family, which papers were duly sent to those personages, and by them handed over to the police, by order of the King, who would not permit the Duchess d'Angoulême to grant an interview to the prisoner, as she desired to do.

All these statements rest entirely on the testimony of Naundorff and his partisans, and even if true do not furnish evidence in Naundorff's favour; because his story about Marassin was written after he had heard about the prisoner of Rouen, and may have been made up out of that material. Nobody knows whether such a man as Marassin ever existed; and the "tin box" of despatches which Naundorff entrusted to his care in Berlin may have grown out of the "tin box" which an innkeeper is said to have found among the stranger's effects after he had been arrested and taken to prison; or this circumstance may have been invented to support Naundorff's assertions respecting his pretended forerunner. At any rate, the only name given to the Pretender of this period was Mathurin Bruneau.

CHAPTER VII.

RICHEMONT.

WHEN Richemont was arrested, in 1833, the police of Paris made diligent inquiries concerning his antecedents, and established the fact of his former residence at Rouen under the name of Louis Hebert, although he had made use of a great many borrowed names and invented titles in his travels and correspondence. Later it was asserted that his real name was Claude Perrein, and that he was the son of a butcher, and was born at Lagnieu (Ain), September 7th, 1786. The only source of information respecting his early life is his Memoir, which is evidently in great part fictitious. It was published in Paris in 1831 under the title :

Les Memoires du Duc de Normandie, fils de Louis XVI., écrites et publiées par lui même.

This work was supplemented in 1846 by the *Memoires d'un Contemporain* ; also Richemont's partisans issued several books and pamphlets in support of his pretensions, their material being of course based entirely upon his own story.

In his account of the evasion he says a child was brought into the Temple concealed in a pasteboard horse, and he himself was carried out in the same way, the other child remaining in his place as a prisoner. The pasteboard horse had a tube under his tail, through which the secreted child could breathe. Outside the Temple he was transferred to the body of a larger horse made of wood, which was harnessed

with three real horses to a small carriage, and thus he was taken out of the city. Richemont said he owed his escape to the Prince de Condé and the Generals de Frotté and Charette, they having gained over the jailer Simon and his wife, while Robespierre knew of the plot and thought best to ignore it. Like the other pretenders, he ascribed his deliverance to the efforts of the Vendéean party, and connected Josephine and Fouché with the plot. His memoirs tell of extensive wanderings in all the four quarters of the globe, his exile being varied by occasional secret sojourns in his native land.

Among the details of Richemont's adventures is one expression which seems to point to a suspicion of the real Dauphin's whereabouts.

He says that once when he returned to France, while Bonaparte was in power, Fouché told him that Europe had no safe place for him, and he would better go to North America and settle down among the savages, where he could live unknown to the rest of the universe. (Curiously enough, Naundorff's biographer in quoting this sentence *puts it in italics*.) Richemont followed that advice, so far as to go to South America, and cast in his lot with the native warriors for six years, returning to France in 1815.

After many years of vagabond life, carried on under various names, during which he was abundantly supplied with money by persons who believed his story, he was arrested in Paris, August 29th, 1833, on a charge of conspiracy, and his trial began in October of the same year, ending in a sentence of twelve years' imprisonment, and police supervision for the rest of his life.

He submitted to the sentence with apparent resignation; but in less than two years he escaped to Belgium, and from thence went to England, as did also a less notorious impostor

of the same sort, Joseph Meuve, a supposed illegitimate son of Charles X.; so that when Naundorff arrived in London in 1836 that city was the home of three men pretending to be Louis XVII. !

In 1838, Richemont ventured to visit Lyons, where he had many adherents, and in 1839 he returned to Paris and endeavoured to bring his case before the Courts; but his principal supporter died, and the matter was laid aside and soon forgotten.

In 1840, Richemont was urged by his partisans to go to Switzerland and appeal to M. de Montbel, a former Government minister in whom the Duchess d'Angoulême had great confidence; but he refused, although he continued to address the Duchess and also the Duke de Bordeaux by letter respecting his claims. He died August 10th, 1853, at the house of one of his devoted adherents, Countess Apschier, in Gleize, near Villefranche.

The inscription on his tombstone,

“ CI-GIT LOUIS-CHARLES DE FRANCE NÉ Á VERSAILLES LE
27 MARS, 1785,”

was effaced by order of the French minister, M. de Persigny, in 1858, and the certificate of decease, wherein he was described as

“ Louis-Charles de France, natif de Versailles,”

was annulled by order of the tribunal of Villefranche, September 12th, 1859.

CHAPTER VIII.

NAUNDORFF.

THERE would be no need of giving more room to Naundorff's history than to the accounts of the other pretenders if that history had been allowed to rest upon its own merits.

Naundorff was less successful as an impostor than either Hervagault or Richemont, and his story, which was the most improbable one of all, would have been recognised as fable long ago if it had not been for the indefatigable efforts of his biographer to keep the matter before the public, and for the frequent, and, thus far, in a degree, successful attempts of Naundorff's descendants to establish the claim which he foolishly asserted for himself and cruelly bequeathed to his family.

Summary of Naundorff's Career.

The earliest authentic knowledge concerning Charles William (Karl Wilhelm) Naundorff is to be found in the official registration of his admittance to citizenship as a watchmaker in the town of Spandau, Prussia (dated November 25th, 1812), he having shown a certificate of good conduct, signed by the chief of police in Berlin, where he had resided about two years.

There is no proof, other than his own assertion, that he laid claim to identity with the Dauphin during his stay in Berlin, or for several years afterwards, although on one

occasion, when questioned by his fellow-workmen concerning his antecedents, he replied, "What if I were to tell you that I am a born prince?" Whereupon they laughed, and he was angry.

In 1818, Naundorff was married in Spandau, by the Protestant rite, to Johanna Einert, a mechanic's daughter. Two children were born in Spandau, and baptised by a Protestant pastor.

In 1822, Naundorff moved with his family to Brandenburg, and became a citizen of that town.

In 1824, he was accused of arson, and acquitted for lack of evidence.

In September of the same year, he was arrested on a charge of counterfeiting, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment at hard labour. During his trial on that charge, he declared himself to be of royal birth.

After his liberation in 1838, he removed to Crossen, where he laid claim publicly to the title of Duke of Normandy, and gave up his business, subsisting with his family upon the generosity of a prominent citizen of Crossen, who zealously espoused his cause.

In 1832, being in danger of arrest, on account of his assumption of a title to which he had no acknowledged legal right, he fled from Prussia (leaving his wife and five children helpless and penniless), and after wandering nearly a year, reached Paris, May 26th, 1833.

In August of the same year, he was presented to several persons formerly attached to the Court of Louis XVI., who accepted his statements and were convinced of his identity. By degrees he acquired a considerable following among the royalists, although the great majority of that party would have nothing to do with him, and the Duchess d'Angoulême refused

to grant him an interview, saying that he was an impostor, and could have read all that he pretended to know.

He was allowed to live undisturbed in Paris for three years; but in 1836 the Government banished him from France, and he went to London, where he was joined by his wife and six children, the whole family being supported for several years by the offerings of devoted partisans in France.

Soon after his arrival in England he published his memoirs, and also established a journal for the advocacy of his pretensions.

In 1838, he announced himself as the founder of a new religious faith, by the publication of a work entitled, *Le Doctrins Celeste*, which was believed by himself and his followers to have been supernaturally inspired, and capable of solving all the social and political problems which concern the welfare of mankind.

In 1841 several of his most fervent disciples deserted his cause and denounced him publicly as an impostor and a hypocrite. His revenues were cut off; the generosity of his few remaining adherents could not alone suffice for his maintenance, and he was finally imprisoned for debt, while his family subsisted upon the charity of the neighbourhood.

After nine months' captivity, Naundorff was released, and early in 1845 he removed to Holland, where an opportunity was offered for the sale of certain military projectiles, in the invention and manufacture of which he had for some time been engaged.

A few months after his establishment in Delft, he died of typhus fever. His family joined him a few days before his death, and they have remained in Holland ever since.

Naundorff was buried in the cemetery of Delft, and the Government, influenced by the late king, permitted a monu-

ment to be erected upon his grave, bearing the name and titles of Louis XVII. of France.

His descendants have continued to prosecute his claims, and to assume royal titles, which, however, have not been recognised outside of Holland, and by only a small proportion of the inhabitants of that kingdom.

Such are the main facts in the life of the notorious pretender, Naundorff.

The following pages contain a detailed account of his memoirs, and his later experiences, accompanied by a critical study of the same, showing the falsity of the narrative, judged by its own evidence and by the revelations of authentic history.

Who was Naundorff? His Language.

Naundorff was a German; at least, he had lived the greater part of his life amongst Germans. When he arrived in Berlin, in 1810, he spoke German like a native, and could not speak any other language.

This fact is fatal to his pretension to be the Dauphin of France. There is no going around nor getting over such an obstacle, although his partisans ignore it as far as possible, and trust to the carelessness of the general reader not to find it out.

The Dauphin was ten years old at the time of his alleged death in the Temple, and Naundorff, in his pretended memoirs of his adventures after that date, declares that he was carried by his friends to Italy, then captured by his enemies and imprisoned in France, and finally liberated by a faithful follower, with whom he remained until a few months before his arrival in Berlin; so that, even according to his own story, he had spent all those intervening years among French people.

If he had asserted that he was carried from the Temple directly into Germany, and grew up in a German family, and, being idiotic for a number of years, forgot the French language, his story would have been more plausible; but according to his own account he never lost his mind, and, excepting when suffering solitary confinement, was always with persons who spoke French until less than a year before his known history commences.

It is useless to try to explain away Naundorff's facility in speaking German by alleging that the Queen taught him her mother tongue in his infancy, and that his nurse taught it to him after his liberation from the Temple. If he already knew German from his mother, there would have been no need of learning it from the nurse; and in any case his knowledge of German would not explain his ignorance of French, which was the Dauphin's native language, and spoken habitually by Marie Antoinette in Vienna, as well as in Paris.

In reality, the whole case is disposed of in the fact that when Naundorff arrived in Berlin he could neither speak nor read French.

His Personal Appearance.

Naundorff was a handsome man, and there is no doubt that his personal advantages had an immense influence in procuring adherents to his cause. His resemblance to the Bourbons was said to be striking; although, as the Bourbons do not all look alike, and as he was generally considered to resemble Marie Antoinette, who was not a Bourbon, it would seem that a recognition of the likeness depended somewhat upon a previous knowledge of the Pretender's claim. In any case, such a resemblance would not alone be sufficient proof of identity.

According to Naundorff's own story, the eight children chosen at different times to personate him were selected on account of their remarkable resemblance to himself. It was the same conformity to the Bourbon type which won converts for the claims of all the other pretenders. Richemont answered the demand in this respect; and when Naundorff went to London he found there still another false Dauphin, named Joseph Meuve, whose resemblance to Count d'Artois (Charles X.) was astonishing.

The truth is that, as a general thing, royal princes contribute much more largely to the increase of population than the lists of their progeny in the State archives and the Gotha Almanack attest. There were probably many illegitimate Bourbons contemporary with the Dauphin in other countries besides France, and Naundorff may have been one of them; although it is more probable that the resemblance to the type in his case, if it was really so strong as his partisans assert, was merely accidental. He evidently cultivated the likeness, and dressed up to it; and any one familiar with the theatre knows how much may be effected in the line of impersonation by an actor's skill. Certainly the engraved portraits in his biography do not bear out the assertion, and the Duchess d'Angoulême could not discover a likeness to her brother in the portrait furnished for her inspection. Whoever has seen the photographs of Naundorff's children and grandchildren must own that they do not look much like him nor like each other. Naundorff's wife is said to have been a beautiful woman, and no doubt her physiognomy is to be traced in her offspring, although her influence in the matter is totally ignored, and her descendants claim to be wholly royal in appearance. One of the sons looks much more like a Bonaparte than a Bourbon; and as for the youngest scion, who is said to be the exact

picture of the Dauphin at the same age, he might stand for dozens of snub-nosed, undeveloped youngsters in any town in any land. The Bourbons are human beings after all, and look like the rest of the human race in their general aspect; their peculiar family traits are doubtless shared by the inhabitants of that region of France to which they themselves originally belonged, and those characteristic features have been gradually modified by intermarriage with royal houses in foreign lands. Every observant person is often struck by a strong resemblance between people not at all related to each other, and travellers find familiar types in remote corners of the earth.

Naundorff is said to have resembled Marie Antoinette rather than Louis XVI. The artist who painted the portrait which was shown to the Duchess d'Angoulême, possessed a fine picture of the Queen, and he was struck by the likeness. But Marie Antoinette was not a Bourbon, and to say that Naundorff resembled her was merely to say that his face was of the pronounced German type. Some persons, influenced probably by the scandalous gossip invented by the Count de Provence against the Queen, were inclined to believe that he was her son, though not the King's; but there seems to be no foundation for such stories. Others saw a fancied resemblance to Louis XVI., although it was universally acknowledged that the Pretender looked much more like the Queen than like the King; that is, much more like a German than like a Frenchman.

Moreover, Naundorff had blue eyes and fair hair, hair which was exceedingly curly; two traits which do not accord with what is known of the Dauphin, and which no change of time and of circumstances could effect. The Dauphin's hair is said to have been of a light chestnut colour (*chataigne clair*), a

very different hue from that of blonde or fair hair, and which always grows dark with advancing years. Again, the Dauphin's hair is said to have hung in long curls; but such tight curls as Naundorff had could never be long; hair of that kind is never long, even when drawn out to its full length. The Dauphin evidently had light auburn hair, sufficiently flexible to hang in loose ringlets during his childhood, and sure to become darker and less curly as he grew older. The eyes which usually accompany hair of that colour are not blue, but brown (*hazel eyes*, they are called), although most infants whose eyes are eventually to be brown have dark blue (not light blue) eyes for several months, sometimes for a much longer period, after birth. Beauchesne mentions that after the Dauphin had become a physical wreck through his privations and sufferings his eyes changed to a greenish grey, and his peculiar condition may indeed have temporarily affected the natural colour; but it is probable that the ordinary and gradual change belonging especially to hazel eyes was then in progress.

One of the numerous false Dauphins had hazel eyes, and no objection was made to his claim on that account, which would seem to imply either that the Dauphin's eyes were believed to be brown, or else that nothing definite respecting their colour was generally known.

The most conclusive testimony on the subject is the fact that in the authentic portraits of the Dauphin the eyes are hazel, with a bluish tinge around the outer edge, as though the final colour were not yet quite established.

The portraits show also that the Dauphin's hair was light auburn in colour and only slightly inclined to curl; it hangs in loose wavy masses, not in the least resembling the tight curls which covered Naundorff's head.

To a careful and unprejudiced observer, Naundorff's hair and eyes are a sufficient condemnation of his claims. He seems to have been aware of the discrepancy, for a physician who attended him in Paris testified that his hair was black, and had evidently been dyed.

Naundorff's notion respecting the mark on his thigh seems to have been founded on a statement alleged to have been made by the mother of St. Didier, who was told by Dr. Jeanroy, one of the physicians in attendance at the death of the child in the Temple, that if the Dauphin was saved from the Temple he could be recognised among ten thousand persons by a peculiar mark on his thigh. Which thigh it was the doctor did not say, and Naundorff does not say either, although once the left thigh is hazarded in some allusion.

The scars mentioned by Naundorff are not the same as those recorded of the Dauphin. It was known that Simon inflicted a severe wound upon the Dauphin's forehead, near his right eye. Eleazar Williams bore a deep scar in that place; but Naundorff's principal wound received from Simon was on his chin; and he mentions another on his lip, caused by the bite of a rabbit in the Dauphin's childhood. He probably heard the rabbit story from his Parisian followers; but there was no certainty that such a wound would leave a permanent scar.

Also the marks of inoculation upon Naundorff's arms were triangular in shape, whereas those recorded of the Dauphin, and found upon Eleazar Williams, were in the form of a crescent. Naundorff had some kind of a mark below the breast (he does not say which breast), and he claims that the Dauphin had one like it. But the governess who had charge of the Dauphin in his infancy declared that his body was entirely free from blemish, which at once disposes of Naun-

dorff's breast-mark and thigh-mark. Also Naundorff had "rabbit-teeth" in the lower jaw, and claimed that the Dauphin had the same, which could not justly be affirmed, because at the latest period when the Dauphin's physical peculiarities would have been noted and recorded his teeth could not have acquired their permanent characteristics.

One of the strongest proofs of the identity of Eleazar Williams with the Dauphin was the presence of deep scars on the knees, wrists, and elbows, the tokens of early tumours at those joints; but these signs seem to have been entirely lacking in Naundorff's case, although in one place he asserts that after his escape from the Temple he suffered from ulcers, which left indelible marks. But the fact remains that the only marks insisted upon by Naundorff were the figure of a dove on one of his thighs, the bite of a rabbit on his lip, and the scar of a wound on his chin, not one of which is applicable to the Dauphin.

His Antecedents.

One of the principal arguments of Naundorff's partisans is the assertion that he cannot be traced beyond the date of his appearance in Berlin.

To the average observer this circumstance lends an air of mystery to the Pretender's subsequent career, and inclines many unreflective persons to accept his claims as well founded.

But if the condition of Europe at the time of Naundorff's arrival in Berlin be considered, it will be seen that there was nothing strange in an adventurer being able to preserve his *incognito* even amongst his fellow-countrymen, and at no great distance from his former home.

All Europe was demoralized through the wide prevalence

and long continuance of war; whole families were killed off or scattered, in other countries besides France; hundreds of vagabonds were roaming over the land; many of them found a refuge in the New World, and some of these returned after years of absence. The police regulations of Prussia, although strict in comparison with those of other governments, were not as formal as they are at present, and the law requiring every stranger to be provided with certificates of birth, baptism, and good conduct was not passed until 1808; hence it was often necessary to relax the ordinary rules to suit the emergencies of the times. It must be remembered, too, that those were not the days of telegraphs, nor even of daily newspapers and the common school; news travelled slowly, and the great proportion of the working classes could neither read nor write. In reading Naundorff's story, one might suppose that all Prussia, from the King down, was in a state of excitement over the sudden appearance of this unknown traveller; the fact being that very few persons knew of his existence until more than twenty years later; while, if his family had lived all the time within a few miles of Berlin, they might never have heard of his vicinity. In thousands of households during those troublous days a son or a brother was missing whose fate never became known to the family at home; and when, in 1833, Naundorff's antecedents began to be sought for, the generation which could have imparted the desired information had passed out of existence.

It is probably true that Naundorff was a wanderer for many years; it is very likely that he was familiar with the inside of prisons; but it is certain that he was not the person he pretended to be, because the Dauphin would never have been lost sight of by the persons concerned in his deliverance from the Temple.

Naundorff himself appeared to be conscious of the force of this objection, and therefore provided a detailed account of the efforts of his "friends" in his behalf during the years when he was lost to the world at large ; but he did not appreciate the fatal effect of that story upon honest minds ; as it was manifestly impossible that, if his friends had watched and guarded and rescued and supported him all that time, and had sent him "a letter of credit" when he was in Frankfort, they would have left him to his fate as soon as he had reached Berlin ; while it was equally incredible that he should not have reported his whereabouts to the chiefs of his party, and relied, as heretofore, upon their assistance, instead of besieging royal strangers with letters which were never answered, and living for months as a beggar in Paris, close to hundreds of wealthy Legitimists who would have joyfully welcomed their abducted King if they had known of his vicinity.

Naundorff's Memoirs.

Naundorff's first attempt at telling his story seems to have been made soon after his marriage in 1818, eight years after his arrival in Berlin. He wrote a few sheets and hid them in the clock, under a false bottom which he had prepared as a receptacle for the precious papers. He had never told his wife that he was the Dauphin of France, and she was naturally curious concerning the mysterious manuscript ; so the next time he left the house she opened the clock, and had just begun to read the revelation when Naundorff returned, snatched the papers from her hand and threw them into the fire.

Not long afterwards he embodied his narration in the form of a tragedy, which he read before a local dramatic society, and asked that it might be acted for the benefit of a certain charity. Later he tried to have the play printed ; but the

ensor forbade the publication, on the ground that the incidents related were too obviously improbable.

Naundorff tells of a memoir sent in 1829 to the King of Prussia, which, if really written, was of course not accessible to other persons. In 1832, he submitted to the Prussian censor a manuscript entitled, *Existence and Adventures of the Duke of Normandy*, which was forbidden to be published, because, although evidently fabulous, it was calculated to make political trouble. Naundorff afterwards sent the article to a Leipzig editor, who printed it in his paper, *La Comète*, August 1, 1832. This must have been a short story, as the whole of it was contained in a single issue of the journal.

Naundorff arrived in Paris in the summer of 1833, and not long afterwards a book appeared entitled, *Louis XVII. devant ses Contemporains*, which at a later period he condemned and bade his readers beware of, as it was merely a romance of his life, and far from exact in its statements. His partisans try to excuse the errors of that first book by alleging that it was printed during the author's absence; but at any rate he furnished the material and it was his story, as he chose to tell it at that time.

In July, 1836, he published in Paris a work entitled, *La Vie du véritable fils de Louis XVI., Duc de Normandie, écrite par lui même*, and in November of the same year appeared in London his *Abrégé de l'Histoire des Infortunes du Dauphin, fils de Louis XVI.* The titles of all these books are given in French in the French biography; but whatever he wrote in Prussia must have been in German, because he could not then write French, and he never wrote that language well enough to publish a book in it without assistance.

The *Abrégé* was translated into English by Hon. and Rev. C. G. Percival, and Naundorff's party make much of that

gentleman's adherence to their cause ; but the truth is that Percival was fully aware of the improbability of the story, and frankly acknowledged that he could not offer any satisfactory explanation of the objections.

It appears, then, by Naundorff's own confession, that his narrative was gradually compiled and was not completed until after his sojourn in France. During that period he had an excellent chance to collect information from a great variety of sources and to shape his work accordingly.

The result shows that he by no means neglected his opportunities. Nevertheless, the inherent falsity of the story is betrayed at every turn, and later discoveries have undermined the very foundations of his absurd romance.

For instance, Naundorff asserts that after his escape from the Temple he was carried into La Vendée and given into the care of General Frotté. This statement is evidently borrowed from Richemont's memoirs. It is now acknowledged by Naundorff's partisans that Frotté had nothing to do with any such transaction. Again, Naundorff claims that Josephine was intimately concerned in the escape of the Dauphin from the Temple, and continued her protection through his subsequent vicissitudes until he disappeared in Prussia. It has since been proved that Josephine knew nothing about the Temple plot and did not hear of the Dauphin's rescue until years afterwards. There seems to be historical ground for believing that she was convinced of the Dauphin's continued existence ; but there is nothing to prove that she knew where he was secreted, and nothing to show that she knew anything about Naundorff. All that tissue of lies rests upon the prevalent belief that the Dauphin was rescued by his royalist friends and given over to the care of the army in La Vendée. The previous pretenders had told substantially the same story, and

Naundorff evidently borrowed his main incidents from their recitals, taking care to avoid some of their blunders and to prepare himself more thoroughly with respect to the topography and history of the scenes in which he declared himself to have been an actor.

The fact that Naundorff wrote and published two distinct and entirely contradictory accounts of his escape from the Temple is sufficient to destroy all confidence in his honesty; and the fact that his biographer, a lawyer by profession, embodied both accounts in his defence of Naundorff, and presented them as equally worthy of credit, shows how far he is to be trusted as a chronicler and apologist.

In the first of these stories Naundorff was simply hid in a basket of linen, and carried directly out of the Temple, and placed under the care of a woman. He gave another version of this story in reply to the Duchess d'Angoulême's challenge, and the variations are important, involving the substitution of another child in his place.

In the second story Naundorff said that a wooden doll was put in his bed, and that he was carried up into the garret of the tower and concealed there seven months, being finally taken out of prison in the coffin supposed to contain the corpse of the child who died in the Temple.

It is undeniable that the enormous discrepancy between these accounts forbids the acceptance of either of them as reliable evidence, to say nothing of the improbability of each recital.

His story was the more easily accepted by the royalists of his own day because they firmly believed that the Dauphin did not die in the Temple, and Naundorff, with his Bourbon aspect, his gentle manners, his wonderful and apparently correct remembrance of the experiences of the royal captives,

and above all his bold, persistent assertion that he was the lost Prince, seemed to those ready worshippers of "legitimate" royalty to answer more closely to their idea of what Louis XVII. ought to be than did the earlier claimants, whose impostures had been satisfactorily exposed.

Nevertheless, it is strange that his contemporaries could have been so blinded as not to perceive the absurdities, the discrepancies, the glaring contradictions in his account, and it is still more strange that now-a-days, more than half a century after Naundorff's death, there can still be found persons of sane mind and cultivated intellect who accept his declarations and believe in his pretensions. The only excuse for such obstinate faith is in the supposition that the persons professing it (fortunately, few in number and continually growing less) have never studied the evidence thoroughly and in an impartially critical spirit. The comments of Naundorff's chief partisans upon the obviously doubtful points of his narration show that facts are made to conform to a previously adopted theory.

It is the object of this work to point out the falsity of the whole record.

Naundorff's own Story.

In discussing this often absurd, and always improbable, narrative it must be remembered that the circumstances, so far as they are not taken from historical records, depend entirely upon Naundorff's assertions, which cannot be either affirmed or denied by any other person; also that many incidents, whether true or false, have nothing to do with the question of identity, and might have happened to anybody anywhere.

In many cases, too, where individuals or governments are charged with certain actions dictated by their knowledge of the existence of the Dauphin, Naundorff assumes *himself* to

have been the cause of such conduct, when in reality it was the DAUPHIN they were thinking about and working for, or against.

Any one who studies Naundorff's account impartially, and with even the least degree of judicial acumen, will perceive throughout the tokens of an invented story. It lacks possibility, probability, coherence, and consistency, and fails in the very particulars wherein an honest revelation would be strongest.

Naundorff begins his history with the departure of the royal family from Versailles. This circumstance is in itself suspicious. At the time when Naundorff wrote his memoirs many interesting anecdotes of the Dauphin's childhood had not been published; and therefore he had no source to draw upon farther back than the beginning of the Revolution. The narrative follows various well-known histories, the only difference being that he tells the story as though a participator in those scenes, and adds many trivial circumstances which are italicized, as offering incontrovertible proof of the authenticity of the recital, the truth being that they are of no importance whatever from any point of view. As this trick is repeated over and over again throughout the memoirs, it may be well to examine a few of the first specimens thoroughly.

In one of the numerous records of the attack upon Versailles, the writer, Hue, says:—

“The Dauphin was carried in his father's arms into the King's apartment, where the Queen and the rest of the family were already assembled.”

Naundorff tells how his father carried him “*into the room where we found my mother.*”

Hue mentions also that when the Queen fled from her bed

to the King's chamber she threw her bed-spread over her shoulders; and Naundorff adds: "She took me in her arms and covered me *with her bed-spread.*"

Again, in describing the journey of the royal family from Versailles to Paris, historians differ respecting certain details. Thiers denies that the heads of the two decapitated body-guards were carried on spikes in front of the royal carriage, and Weber says that the heads were paraded through the streets of Versailles, and then sent to Paris, reaching the barrier before the royal party had left Versailles.

But Hue says that the heads were carried in the procession, and Naundorff follows Hue; while Naundorff's enthusiastic biographer, Gruau, naïvely asks,—

"Which is likely to be right, the historian who denies the occurrence, or the Dauphin, who declares, 'I was there; I saw it'?"

Whichever account be accepted, the fact remains that Naundorff's version is to be found in Hue's narrative; consequently, it is of no value as a proof of identity.

The same is to be said of Naundorff's elaborate description of the journey to Varennes and back, wherein he follows history, excepting where he adds insignificant details, such as that his mother kissed him, that he slept a certain time in the carriage, that his father took him in his arms, that his mother held him on her lap, etc., all of which are italicized, and the truth of which he solemnly calls upon the Duchess d'Angoulême to attest.

With regard to the Varennes episode there is a discrepancy among historians respecting the treatment of the royal family. For instance, several writers say that a certain commissary named Petion occupied a place in the royal carriage, and behaved rudely towards the prisoners. Hue, Naundorff's

favourite authority, says that Petion and Latour Maubourg rode in a separate carriage, and that Barnave, the third commissioner, rode with the royal family, and showed them due respect. Naundorff follows Hue's narrative, even to the slightest particulars.

Now it must be remembered that at the time of the flight to Varennes the Dauphin was only six years old; it is, therefore, highly improbable that a tired and frightened child of that age would remember not only the particulars of what happened inside the carriage, just where each person sat, and what was said, and who said it, but would also know that two commissioners named Petion and Latour Maubourg, neither of whom he had ever seen or heard of before, rode behind in another vehicle.

In short, what Naundorff tells on his own responsibility is absurd; all the rest is found in contemporary history.

Naundorff's account of the life of the royal family during their imprisonment in the Temple consists of facts known to history, together with amplifications and embellishments of his own which are of no value whatever; while many of his descriptions respecting localities, furniture, etc., are contradicted by authentic testimony which came to light after his memoir was written.

He furnishes minute details of architectural peculiarities in portions of the Temple which the Dauphin never could have seen, while many particulars of the chambers really frequented by the Dauphin are entirely fanciful, as they are in opposition to the evidence of Clery and other competent witnesses. Naundorff's descriptions are so elaborate as to have been necessarily derived from books, and so inaccurate as to forbid the possibility of their having been a record of personal observation.

The same is true of pretended reminiscences of incidents occurring in that dolorous period. He tells of having been one day accosted in the garden by a guard, who was really a woman disguised as a man, and who made signs to him and his sister to let them know that she was friendly to their cause. The same person figures later in Naundorff's story.

According to history, the royal children were not allowed to take exercise in the open air excepting at certain times, and accompanied by their elders; also, the place of their promenade was a portion of an avenue, and the whole route was jealously watched by hostile guards.

Again, Naundorff asserts that the Queen wrote a letter to Madame Elizabeth every morning before rising, and concealed the papers on the Dauphin's person, where they were found by Madame Elizabeth, who took the child into a closet to search for the forbidden correspondence.

History tells us, and Naundorff makes the same statement, that all the papers of the royal family, as well as all implements of writing, were taken from them September 29th; and there was really no need of letter-writing, as the Queen and Madame Elizabeth were together nearly all the time, while such a practice would have been likely to involve the sufferers in new dangers and increased troubles.

Many affecting details of the last days of the King and Queen which have been published since Naundorff's time would surely have been remembered and mentioned by him if he had been the Dauphin; whereas, his narrative is cold and tame, and evidently a forced performance.

He is apparently ignorant of the physical and moral degeneration to which the Dauphin was subjected through the cruelty of Simon; and the horrible charge against the Queen, which the unhappy child was compelled to affirm and

sign, is not even alluded to by Naundorff, and is dismissed by one of his biographers with the indignant comment, "Naundorff never uttered such words"; which is, of course, true.

The Dauphin's asserted refusal to speak during the latter days of his captivity is accounted for by Naundorff in the unsatisfactory declaration: "Various motives induced me to preserve absolute silence."

When Naundorff wrote his memoirs, the narrative of Beauchesne, and other circumstantial accounts of the Dauphin's experiences in the Temple, had not yet appeared.

Just how and when the Dauphin was carried out of the Temple has never been revealed to the public.

At the time when the deed was accomplished it was not so very difficult of performance, because the principal officials of the prison were in the secret, and the earlier discipline had been purposely relaxed to prepare a favourable moment for the rescue.

That the Dauphin's sister was afterwards informed of the whole process is evident from her having made a full and correct account of the escape, the condition of her granting an interview to Naundorff, and that Naundorff did not know the facts is evident from his refusal to comply with that condition, after having tried for years to induce the Duchess to give him a hearing. If he had really been the Dauphin he would not only have been glad of an opportunity to offer incontestable proof of his identity, but would also have admired the prudence of his sister in not listening to such claims unless accompanied by sufficient evidence. But from the moment of the reception of that decisive challenge Naundorff's pretended affection for his "sister" was turned to bitter hatred, and thenceforth he and his partisans lost no opportunity of

loading her with reproaches for hardness of heart and lack of natural affection.

Naundorff's account of the escape from the Temple is in itself a sufficient proof that he was an impostor.

He declares in his memoirs that his principal protectors were Josephine, Barras, Pichegru, Hoche, Frotté, and Charette, who acted through chosen agents; also that another party, composed of royalists, were trying to save him, and that still a third company made efforts which occasioned confusion and disastrous mistakes, as will be seen in the course of the recital.

Naundorff says that he was taken out of his chamber and secreted by his friends, November 7th, 1794; that is, *seven months* before the reputed death of the Dauphin in the Temple.

At the time of his escape, according to his own story, the discipline of the prison was exceedingly strict.

The ground floor was occupied by an official of the municipal council, with guards under his command, and every person entering the building was not only interrogated, but thoroughly searched both on coming in and going out.

A guard stood all the time at the outer door; there was only one staircase communicating with all the storeys of the Tower; no one could go up or down without being accompanied by a guard, and any suspicious person could be put outside the premises without delay.

The first storey of the Tower consisted of one large room, which was occupied by a number of the municipal guard.

The Dauphin was confined in a chamber in the second storey. There was only one door to the room, and that door and the passage and the stairs were so carefully watched that not even a mouse could pass unseen.

These things being so, Naundorff's friends were convinced that it would be impossible to carry the Dauphin downstairs; therefore, they decided to carry him upstairs. The third storey was occupied by the Princess, but there was no sentinel before her door. The fourth storey was merely a garret, used only as a receptacle for worn-out furniture, and never opened. Accordingly the garret was chosen as a safe hiding-place, and the "friends" procured keys, and carried thither whatever would be necessary for the comfort of the captive. When all was arranged, they told him about the plan, and warned him that he must make up his mind to submit to many hardships without complaining or appealing for help, as the least noise would bring ruin upon himself and all concerned.

At the appointed time the friends arrived at the Temple, carrying a laundry basket, large enough and long enough to contain a manikin of the same size as the Dauphin, and having a face painted to resemble him exactly. This figure was covered with a mass of linen, in order to avoid arousing the suspicions of the guard; and on reaching the prisoner's room, the basket was put under the bed.

A dose of opium was then administered to the Dauphin, and before he had quite succumbed to its influence, he saw, as in a dream, the manikin taken out of the basket and put into his bed, while he himself was placed in the bottom of the basket and concealed under the linen. This happened just at the time for changing the guard, and the new official contented himself with merely glancing into the room, and seeing that a figure resembling the Dauphin was lying in the bed.

Naundorff afterwards lost consciousness; and when he awoke he found himself in a vast chamber filled with old furniture, in the midst of which was his narrow hiding-place, communi-

cating with a small closet in a turret, where his friends had left a supply of provisions for his use.

Now observe the contradictions in this part of the story.

Naundorff says that the increased strictness in the discipline of the tower was in consequence of frequent rumours concerning a meditated deliverance of the Dauphin by his friends. It is not likely, therefore, that such a basket as he describes could have passed the guard without being opened. Clothes-baskets are never made large enough and long enough to serve as a hiding-place for a boy ten years old, and a basket made for that purpose would have excited suspicion at once ; while, as everything brought into the prison was carefully examined, the doll would certainly have been discovered before being carried upstairs. The persons who brought it were his rescuers ; consequently, they could not have looked nor acted like laundry servants, and even if they were successfully disguised they would not have been allowed to go up to the prisoner's room alone and stay there as long as would have been necessary for the carrying out of their plan. If the scanty linen granted to the royal children was really washed outside the premises, it would have been delivered to the proper servants or officials below stairs, and not carried directly to the Dauphin's chamber, as though he were a boarder in a hotel. Moreover, it was a strict rule of the prison that no outsider should go anywhere about the premises without being accompanied by a guard ; hence the two strangers (there must have been two, at least) would not have been permitted to enter the Dauphin's room alone, and perform that jugglery with the manikin undisturbed ; nor would the guard have allowed them to remain there unchallenged. The guard having been changed, there was apparently no fear of further interruption ; for Naundorff,

after saying on one page that the stairs and the passage and the door of the Dauphin's room, were watched so carefully that not even a mouse could pass unseen, says on another that persons in attendance on the prisoner were not examined after passing the first floor; consequently, it was safe for the conspirators to do what they chose in the storeys above. But the staircase was open all the way down; how then could two men carry a heavy basket up two flights without being heard at the foot of the first flight? And how did these same men succeed in carrying up "everything necessary for the prisoner's comfort," when "everything" must have been brought from outside and carried past those inquisitive guards, who not only interrogated, but searched every person who came in or went out? Mention is made of a door leading from the back of the building to the stables, which was not so carefully guarded as was the entrance from the street; but even if an intruder had managed to obtain access to the lower court in that way, he could not have escaped examination as soon as he attempted to mount the stairs.

The whole account is absurd on the face of it; but it is nothing to what comes afterwards.

We are told that the manikin was discovered the same evening; but the Government, believing that the Dauphin's escape had already been effected, thought it best to keep the matter secret for the moment. The conspirators, in order to deceive the Government more completely, sent a child, ostensibly the Dauphin, out of Paris towards Strasburg, and then gave the alarm to the authorities, who, believing all that was told them, and being at their wits' end, attempted to deceive the people by substituting in place of the manikin a child really deaf and dumb, and therefore unable to give

any account of himself, while the speechlessness would seem only an aggravation of the Dauphin's habitual silence.

Now, if the officials of the prison discovered that the Dauphin had disappeared, and that a doll had been left in his place, would not their first step have been to institute a thorough search for the missing prisoner? And as they knew that he could not have been carried downstairs without being seen, would they not naturally have gone upstairs, and examined the apartment of the Princess in the third storey, and the garret in the fourth? The idea that they accepted their loss with so little effort to hinder or repair it is too preposterous for a moment's consideration by any person possessed of common sense and the ability to reason!

Again, we are told that the Government thought it best to say nothing about the escape, and to deceive the people by substituting a deaf and dumb child in the Dauphin's place. But the citizens at large had nothing to do with what went on inside the Temple, either before the evasion or afterwards; they were not admitted within the walls, they never saw the Dauphin, and the only information they received concerning him was what the commissioner chose to give them through printed notices.

The deaf and dumb child having been installed in the Dauphin's room, things went on as usual in the prison, and the rescued boy remained in the garret. He remembered the instructions of his deliverers, and made a firm resolve to die rather than disobey those rules. So he ate, and slept, and awaited the coming of his friends with patience. Sometimes several days elapsed between their visits; one of them came now and then by night, bringing with him the

necessary supplies. Although the season was winter, and there was no fire, the boy did not suffer from the cold, as his friends had provided amply for his comfort. His hiding-place was secure ; for that chamber was never opened, and if any one had come in, the refugee could not have been discovered, as he was hidden in a place so low that his friends were obliged to creep on all fours to reach him. In his own words, it was like being buried alive.

Now the friends who accomplished such prodigies were outsiders, and therefore objects of suspicion to the officials of the prison. Even if they had had sympathisers and assistants inside, they could not have evaded the watchfulness of the regular guard. How then could they visit the garret at short intervals and keep the prisoner supplied with sufficient food ? A considerable amount of nourishment is required to sustain life in a boy nearly ten years old, and when it is remembered that the sojourn in the garret lasted *seven months*, the impossibility of providing for the wants of the captive is fully demonstrated.

Consider also other difficulties.

The garret was not such a place as Naundorff describes. According to authentic details of the Temple, the fourth storey of the great tower was one vast open chamber, surrounded by a gallery between the battlements and the roof. This space had never been inhabited, and was therefore not divided into rooms, nor fitted up with any conveniences for living. It was entirely empty, excepting that a few pieces of worn-out furniture and a pile of old boards were ranged along the walls. Hence, there was no place for Naundorff to hide in, no "cabinet" to contain his food, no chance for him to stow himself away "as though buried alive," no occasion for his friends to "crawl on all

fours" to reach him, no possibility of escaping the observation of any person entering the apartment.

Moreover, it is not true that the garret was never opened. The Dauphin himself and the whole royal family were often allowed to walk in the surrounding gallery, and the embrasures in the wall were boarded up so that the prisoners could not be seen outside. In order to reach the gallery it was necessary to cross the garret; but Naundorff says he never saw that room until he was hidden there, which is another proof that he was not the Dauphin. As the windows were not glazed, the place must have been intensely cold in winter; although Naundorff says he did not suffer, as his friends had made him perfectly comfortable.

With regard to the prisoner's sustenance, it is certain that even if sufficient food could have been secretly furnished him (which is impossible), it would have been eaten by rats faster than a boy could eat it; indeed, he might be thankful if the rats did not eat *him*. All the water he used must be carried to him; all the filth he accumulated must be removed by his protectors, or left there to create stench and disease. A little reflection on the part of any reader of this story is enough to show its absurdity. Even if certain of the officials knew of the plot and favoured it, the majority of the guard were supposed to be faithful to the Government. If they were faithful, it would have been impossible to deceive them; if they were unfaithful, such extreme precautions would not have been necessary.

It sounds very romantic to tell of being hid in the garret of an old tower; but when one takes into consideration what is implied to make existence possible in such a place, the falsity of such a narration is at once apparent. Naundorff says that all chance of escape from the garret was cut off for

the time, because, in consequence of his disappearance, the guard below had been doubled. That same circumstance would increase the difficulty of his friends in ministering to his wants.

But why multiply words? The fact is patent that it was utterly impossible for the Dauphin to have been carried up to the garret, and kept there more than half a year by his friends, while his enemies held possession of the prison and guarded the stairs.

Consider also the mental privations involved in such an imprisonment. Naundorff described himself as being healthy in body and mind before being transferred to the garret, and as having borne that painful seclusion without physical injury and with cheerfulness of spirit. But who that knows anything of children can believe that a vigorous boy, nearly ten years old, could lie for seven months concealed in a space so narrow that "it was like being buried alive," could endure the winter's cold in the garret of a stone tower without physical suffering, and be debarred of light and fresh air, of exercise, and amusement, and companionship, and intellectual stimulus of every kind, without mental injury?

The real Dauphin, while enduring in some respects less discomfort than is involved in the garret story, became almost helpless from bodily disease, and almost idiotic from mental stupefaction, a condition following naturally from the circumstances; whereas Naundorff's immunity from the consequences of the experience he describes is without precedent and manifestly false.

Meantime, the deaf and dumb boy was left to play the *rôle* of the Dauphin in the chamber below, the substitution being known only to a few persons either inside or outside of the tower. Naundorff asserts that Josephine procured the deaf-

mute for Barras, as a substitute for the manikin, Barras being then President of the Convention, and the chief manager of Government affairs.

According to Naundorff, the officials became uneasy on account of a prevalent report that the Dauphin was no longer in the Temple, and so they resolved to get rid of the deaf-mute by poison. After having made the child dangerously ill, they sent for the celebrated physician Dessault; not because they wanted the patient cured, but to avoid the appearance of foul play in case of his death.

However, Dessault was able to save the boy by means of an antidote ordered of a druggist named Choppart, to whom he confided the discovery that the child he was called to treat was not the Dauphin. This information spread rapidly, and the frightened officials made haste to poison Dessault and Choppart; and then, seeing that the deaf and dumb boy was not likely to succumb to the attempts to poison him, they hid him in the palace of the Temple, and substituted in his place a child dying of scrofula taken from one of the public hospitals.

To establish these declarations Naundorff quotes three letters which he says were written by Laurent to General Frotté. The first letter alludes to the Dauphin as hidden in the tower; the second mentions the presence of the deaf-mute and the proposed substitution of a sick child in his place; the third announces the removal of the deaf-mute to the Temple palace, implying the arrival of the sick child in the Dauphin's room.

There is no evidence of the authenticity of the letters, as even Naundorff did not claim that they were anything more than copies, and the originals do not exist, so far as is known. The internal evidence is decidedly against their authenticity. The contents sound as though made up for the occasion; the

writer goes into unnecessary particulars and explains things which must have been known already to the person addressed. In those dangerous times, and especially concerning so dangerous an enterprise, Laurent, or any other person engaged in the plot, would have been more likely to disguise his information under some form of cipher previously agreed upon. Such letters as Naundorff quotes, if discovered, would have ruined all concerned. But whether genuine or not, the contents do not confirm Naundorff's account, except in part, and the dates contradict his story, so far as it relates to the deaf-mute and the dying child.

Moreover, Naundorff's partisans say now that the letters could not have been written to Frotté, and they suggest Hoche as the probable correspondent. But Naundorff declared that they were written to Frotté. Also, the letters were signed "Laurenz." Now Naundorff, a German, would naturally have written the name in that way; but Laurent, a Frenchman, would never have made such a blunder.

The first letter is dated Nov. 7, 1794, the day of the pretended evasion; the second, Feb. 5, 1795; the third, March 3, 1795.

Therefore the deaf-mute must have been transferred to the palace and the dying child substituted as early as March 3, 1795.

But it was the deaf-mute for whom Dessault was summoned, according to Naundorff; and Dessault was poisoned because he reported that the boy he was called to prescribe for was not the Dauphin.

And yet Dessault did not die till June, three months after his asserted exposure of the plot! Authentic reports testify that Dessault was sent for May 5, and continued in attendance throughout the month. According to Naundorff, his patient

must have been the sick child brought from the hospital. In that case Dessault would have discovered the substitution on his first visit, and would not have continued to officiate. He would also have reported the fact without delay. Yet he was not poisoned for having betrayed the secret until June, a whole month after he had found it out and told of it!

The evidence goes to show that soon after May 31 Dessault went to the Temple, and found a strange child in the Dauphin's place, that he made known the discovery, and lost his life in consequence. Another theory is that he was poisoned soon after his visit of May 30, in order to prevent his return. He was reported to have died of cholera-morbus; and as he died in June, and, it is said, soon after having attended a dinner-party, his death may have had a natural cause. At any rate, his connection with the Dauphin proves that the story of his care of the deaf-mute was false, and that he could not have attended the sick child from the hospital in May.

Naundorff's story makes the sick child an inmate of the Dauphin's chamber from March 3 till June 8.

As he was in a dying condition when brought to the Temple, he could scarcely have lived three months longer, and he would certainly have needed medical attendance during that time. Yet we are told that Dessault never saw him, and it is well known that the physicians, Pelletan and Dumangin, were not summoned till June 5, three days before his death.

The truth is that Dessault had attended the royal children before their imprisonment, and therefore knew that the boy he treated for several weeks in the Temple was the veritable Dauphin. Dessault saw his patient May 30, and Bellanger took the portrait of the boy May 31, the same boy whom he

afterwards carried to America; which proves that the Dauphin was in the Temple, in his own room, as late as May 31. The date of Dessault's death is not known. Various dates are given—June 1, June 2, June 4, June 16. He was probably poisoned; either to prevent his discovering the substitution, or to silence his testimony concerning such a discovery. He may have gone to the Temple after the Dauphin's escape and seen the other child, in which case he would have reported the matter to the Government. His pupil, Dr. Abeille, explained the mystery in that way; but there are no papers of Dessault's to judge by, which is another suspicious circumstance, as he undoubtedly wrote down full particulars respecting the condition of the Dauphin.

Naundorff's account of how the substituted child was obtained is enough to cover his whole story with contempt. He says that the persons employed in that affair went the round of the hospitals in Paris, with a portrait of the Dauphin in their hands, searching for a child resembling him. At last they found one who looked exactly like him, and who was desperately ill with a scrofulous disease. Him they took away, leaving in his place a child whose health was so good that in the next report of the hospital physician it was announced that a miracle had been wrought, a dying child having been restored to perfect health in forty-two hours.

Now, is anybody in his senses going to believe a story like that?

To say nothing of the absurdity of the hunt after a resemblance, is it likely that a party of strangers would be allowed to carry away a patient from his bed in the *Hôtel Dieu*, without the knowledge or permission of the officials, and introduce a healthy child into the sick ward without examination by the attendant physician?

Moreover, scientific men are not apt to ascribe a cure to a "miracle."

To return to Naundorff in his garret. Naundorff declares in one part of his memoirs that he will not give the names of persons who ministered to him during his imprisonment and effected his escape because of political danger; but a few pages farther on he tells without reserve that Barras, Josephine, Hoche, Frotté, Pichegru and Charette were the chief instruments of his deliverance.

He associates with them three royalist noblemen, De Briges, De Montmorin, and Thor de la Sonde.

It is certain that none of the historical characters mentioned acted personally in the scenes described: they must have been represented by agents, and for those agents Naundorff chooses the convenient name of "friends." Naundorff says also that Laurent furnished him with food.

But Laurent could not have done so for any length of time, or in a sufficient quantity, without being discovered. There were certain persons appointed to wait upon the royal children at certain intervals during the day, and the care of a captive in the upper storey could not have been added to the usual routine without attracting attention and causing examination.

Naundorff speaks as though Laurent took care of him till the deliverance, and met him as soon as he was safe among his friends.

But Laurent resigned his place in the Temple at the end of March, and Lasnes, who succeeded him, is expressly declared not to have been in the secret. Later writers have seemed to notice this discrepancy, and one of them (H. Provins) gives the following naïve explanation: "It is extremely probable that it was by the aid of Caron (one of the

kitchen servants), in connection with Laurent, that the young King was nourished and taken care of, until March 31; then, after the departure of that faithful guardian, by Caron alone until the moment of the final escape."

This may be romance; but it certainly is not evidence.

The sick child having been finally chosen to personate the Dauphin unto death, the deaf-mute became a supernumerary, and this is how Naundorff disposes of him. He says that certain important personages, rich and noble and devoted to his cause, resolved to attempt to bribe the Government to surrender the Dauphin into their hands. The Government, fearing that the secret of the substitution could not be kept much longer, were glad of a chance to get rid of the deaf-mute, and after having received a large sum of money, they agreed to deliver the child to a man well known to them, named Joseph Paulin, on the condition that the boy should be sent immediately out of the country.

Accordingly, Paulin received the child "hidden in a sufficiently long basket of linen," and carried the treasure to the house of a trusted friend, whither Josephine repaired the next day to welcome the rescued Prince. But as soon as she saw the child she cried out to Paulin: "Wretch! what have you done? You have delivered the son of Louis XVI. into the hands of his assassins!"

Then, perceiving that Paulin did not understand her, she ordered him to carry the child to General Charette in La Vendée, which he did, Josephine writing afterwards a letter to Charette, explaining the mistake and exposing the treachery of the republican Government.

Naundorff states that Josephine did not then know of the substitution of the sick child, and supposed that Barras had sent away the deaf-mute for fear of discovery.

This exceedingly lame story needs no refutation.

What must the Vendéean army have thought when a second false Dauphin, this time a deaf and dumb one, was imposed upon them? For Naundorff says, further on, that Laurent told him of an earlier attempt to mislead public opinion by sending a false Dauphin to the Vendéans, meaning Hervagault, whose claims Naundorff disposes of in this way.

And why should Joseph Paulin have remained in ignorance of his error, since Naundorff declares that he was a trusted agent of his friends, and had, moreover, seen the Dauphin, at least, on one occasion, when Paulin secretly remitted money to the King in the tower?

What became of the deaf-mute is not recorded; although a recent writer in behalf of Naundorff's claims (F. Delrosat, *La Question Louis XVII.*, Paris, 1890) gives the name of the child as Tardif, son of an impoverished nobleman; the name of the scrofulous victim, his successor, being said to be Leninger, son of a gardener at Versailles. Such testimony, however, is not reliable, not being supported by evidence, and in any case it is no proof of Naundorff's identity.

Naundorff's account of the death of the child in the Temple follows the historical record, of course, but his description of what occurred afterwards is all his own.

He states that the autopsy being finished, the body was put into a coffin, and left for a time in the chamber formerly occupied by the King. During this interval the captive in the garret, having been stupefied by a strong dose of opium, was carried downstairs and placed in the coffin, while the dead child was removed to the garret.

The transfer was only just effected when the appointed persons came to take the coffin to the cemetery.

Naundorff's friends having been informed of what was going on, put the coffin into a carriage and started for the cemetery. The carriage had been prepared beforehand with a false bottom, in which was a large trunk, or box, filled with old papers; and on the way these friends lifted the insensible child out of the coffin and put him into the box under the carriage, while the old papers were stuffed into the coffin to make it of the same weight as before. Arrived at the cemetery, the coffin was placed immediately in the grave already dug for it, and the friends drove off at a gallop to the house of a companion in Paris.

Let us examine this statement.

We know from history that the autopsy was performed by physicians who believed the corpse to be that of the Dauphin, and that the preparations for the burial were made by officials loyal to the existing Government. Naundorff himself does not pretend that the body was carried to the King's chamber by persons concerned in the plot he describes. Is it likely, then, that Naundorff's "friends" could obtain access to that room, and that they could bring downstairs a living body and carry upstairs a dead body unhindered? Naundorff's language implies that the regular officials had charge of the body. He says that the transfer was only just effected when *people came* (*on venait chercher*) to carry the coffin to the cemetery, and he adds,—

"Certainly those who were not in the secret supposed it was I they were going to bury!"

Then he says, "Scarcely was the dead child concealed in the fourth storey when my friends, informed of what was going on, put the coffin which contained me into a carriage, and started for the cemetery."

This would imply that two parties of friends were on hand, one to perform the work of transfer upstairs, the other to attend to the carriage in the street. But, if persons not in the secret were employed to take the coffin downstairs, is it not likely that they would have some means of transport at the outer door? Other accounts say that the coffin was carried on a bier to the grave, which is very probable, as the cemetery of St. Marguerite was not far away.

According to Naundorff the coffin was not closed while it remained in the King's room; but it is scarcely possible that the lid should not have been fastened down before starting for the cemetery, and the person employed in that final task would have looked at the body, and necessarily have discovered the fraud.

Moreover, if those persons carried the coffin downstairs, they certainly would not have surrendered it to a party of strangers on reaching the outside door, nor could the conspirators have succeeded in stealing it and putting it into their own conveyance without being seen and stopped.

Naundorff says that the carriage furnished by his friends was prepared for the occasion. It contained a false bottom, in which was a box filled with old papers. After the coffin was lifted into the carriage and the driver had started for the cemetery, the coffin was opened, and the stupefied boy lifted out and placed in the box, from which the papers were transferred to the empty coffin, in order to make it as heavy as before.

It must have required an immense amount of paper to make the coffin as heavy as it would be when holding the corpse of a boy ten years old; moreover, it is stated elsewhere that the grave was afterwards opened by order of Napoleon, and the coffin found empty.

The carriage was, of course, closed, so that no one in the street could see what was passing inside.

Now, what kind of a carriage could it have been to accommodate what Naundorff says it held ?

The carriages of those days were not the roomy vehicles we have at present ; they were bulky, awkward, and heavy. And no carriage, even now-a-days, is large enough to hold the coffin of a boy ten years old ; nor is there space enough underneath for a box long enough to contain a child of that age. Moreover, that carriage was obliged to find room for at least two full-grown men, and, during the transfer, for the dead boy, and for masses of paper equal to his weight besides !

The whole story is manifestly absurd. If the Temple was guarded by honest officials, the sight of a carriage such as that must have been would have called for instant examination ; if the officials were in the plot, there was no need of elaborate preparation.

Having seen the coffin lowered into the ditch already dug for it, the conspirators drove back to Paris at full gallop.

The child who died in the Temple was buried in the graveyard of St. Marguerite, which is inside the barrier, and in the older part of the city, so there was no going outside of Paris at all.

It is true that many and various rumours have been circulated respecting the burial of the child who died in the Temple, and that the precise spot of the interment is not positively known, there being no reliable official statement in existence ; but whatever may be the facts, it is certain that Naundorff's absurd narrative is entirely false.

Naundorff tells two stories respecting the return to Paris.

In one, he says he was carried and confided to other friends while he was still unconscious, and that on awakening he found

himself in a clean bed, in a clean room, and guarded by a nurse, in whom he recognised the woman whom he had once seen disguised as a man in the garden of the Temple, and who had made signs to him and his "sister" to let them know that she was a friend.

The Government having quickly discovered the final deception, and being disturbed by the prevalent report that it was not the Dauphin who was buried, gave orders for the coffin to be taken up, securely fastened, and buried elsewhere, in order that the grave might not be searched.

Naundorff's friends, considering that he was not safe in Paris, dressed him in girl's clothes and sent him with the woman before mentioned to the army of La Vendée, arrangements having been made for his reception at the necessary stopping places on the way.

Before reaching his destination, however, he was taken ill at the country house of one of his friends, where he remained some time, seeing no one but his nurse, excepting one day, when three strangers visited him, one of whom his nurse told him was General Charette.

On his recovery, this nurse, who it seems was a Swiss woman, wife of a man who perished in the massacre of the 10th of August, began to teach him the German language, in order that he might the more easily pass for her son when the time should come for him to resume his proper dress.

Naundorff says also, in this connection, that when he left Paris his friends sent away at the same time another child, a native of Versailles, with his parents, in order to confound any attempt on the part of the Government to discover the real refugee.

In the other story, Naundorff says that the rapid motion of the carriage aroused him from his lethargy; that his friends

gave him a reviving drink, and then disguised him in girl's clothes, after which they all left the first carriage and took another for a certain house in the Faubourg St. Germain, where he was confided to a friend of Josephine. In that house he met again the faithful Laurent, and was presented to Josephine. She asked Laurent what became of the dead body of the child found in the garret, and he told her that it was discovered the night after the escape, and buried in the Temple garden. He described the precise spot, in case it might be necessary for her to know, and the information was repeated to De Frotté, De Briges, and De Montmorin.

As soon as Naundorff's health would admit of his travelling, he and the lady who had charge of him were sent to the country house of M. Thor de la Sonde, where they remained until he was given into the care of a Vendéean general. While he remained with his nurse he was known only by the feminine name given him with the disguise. (The name is not mentioned.) He never was seen outside of the gate, and he spent his time in climbing all the trees he could reach.

The story of the feminine dress, the feminine name, and the pastime of climbing trees, seems to have been suggested by the statement of an old woman of La Vendée, who said that in her youth there was brought to the house where she was employed a boy, disguised as a girl, with whom she frequently played, and whose favourite amusement was climbing trees in the orchard.

In the meantime Josephine confided to Napoleon the secret of the evasion of the Dauphin, to the great disquiet of her confederates, who no longer felt the same confidence in her. Napoleon ordered the exhumation of the child buried in the Temple yard, and was convinced that the Dauphin had escaped.

The discrepancies between the two accounts of the return to Paris betray the falsity of each, and there are other features of the narrative which show plainly that it was a made-up story. For instance, how could Naundorff know that the Government had ordered the coffin to be taken up and sealed and buried elsewhere ?

Also the revelations of Laurent to Josephine respecting the discovery and burial of the dead child found in the garret are highly improbable. Naundorff represents himself throughout as having been always on the alert and keenly appreciative of every phase of the enterprise ; also as having been treated by the confederates with the utmost confidence in regard to the development of their plot.

It is very probable that Barras was concerned in the escape of the Dauphin, and that he helped carry out the plans of De Provence, while appearing to favour the proposals of the Vendéean army. But it is certain that he did not confide in Josephine, nor claim the assistance of her supposed confederates.

Naundorff says distinctly in this narrative that he was sent into La Vendée, that General Charette visited him, and that he was finally delivered into the care of a Vendéean general, whose name he does not mention, but who is declared by his biographer to have been General de Frotté.

And yet he says elsewhere that his friends decided not to give him up to the Vendéans, because another child who was sent to them fell into the hands of the enemy ; and in still another version, he says that, while he was under the care of the woman who brought him into La Vendée, he was snatched out of bed in the night by his enemies, and carried off to prison.

It is now time to take notice of the long procession of

children who figure in Naundorff's memoirs as substitutes for himself at various epochs of his early career.

1. The false Dauphin sent to La Vendée before the evasion.

2. The child sent to Strasburg to represent the Dauphin as escaped.

3. The deaf and dumb boy left in his room at the Temple.

4. A boy substituted for the deaf-mute in the Temple palace.

5. The scrofulous boy who died in the Temple.

6. A healthy child left in the hospital in place of the sick child.

7. A boy sent out of Paris to cover Naundorff's departure for La Vendée.

8. A boy sent to America.

Now, is it reasonable to suppose that within the space of a few months eight children could be taken out of their natural surroundings by strangers and made to disappear, either temporarily or permanently, without protest on the part of parents or research on the part of the police ?

Whenever Naundorff is in a dilemma, "a child" is always at hand to remove the difficulty. It is doubtless true that *one* child was obtained by some means to die in the Dauphin's place at the Temple. But *eight* children! And all of them healthy, excepting one! Under no government in the world could such things happen without notice and investigation.

One thing is certain. Whatever may have been the means resorted to for covering the escape of the Dauphin, nothing that is yet known and nothing that Naundorff asserts is of the least weight as proof of his own identity with the lost Prince.

Many of his statements are manifestly false; many other

incidents, even if true, could not have been known to him at the time, and later acquired information may have come to him by accident, or through a lucky discovery of secrets wherein he had personally no concern.

It is important to bear in mind that for the great majority of Naundorff's assertions there is no proof; while the remainder depend upon historical records, which are open to everybody.

So far as his story is supported by evidence, the criticism given by the Duchess d'Angoulême covers the whole ground: "He could have read all that he has written."

Only those persons who have time and patience to read carefully the wordy memoirs of Naundorff, and the voluminous comments and amplifications of his biographer, can appreciate the ludicrous misapplication of acknowledged facts, and the bewildering contradictions of original statements, which characterize this unique contribution to contemporary history.

The wonder is that converts zealous enough to examine the records can retain a belief in the hero of the narration!

One version of the sojourn in La Vendée states that Naundorff was taken ill in Paris immediately after his escape from the Temple, and remained some time in the city. Another says that his friends, fearing the discovery of his hiding-place, sent him speedily into La Vendée, where he had a long illness.

In one he stays at a country house with his nurse until resigned to the care of a Vendéean general. In another he stays for a time at the chateau of M. Thor de la Sonde, and afterwards at a farm-house. In one his nurse is a Swiss woman; in another a German lady, widow of a Swiss guard. In one he is finally given into the charge of General Frotté; in another he is taken prisoner by his enemies while under the

care of the nurse. In one place he says he never knew the name of this nurse; in another he says that when the right time comes he will tell her name to his "sister," as a convincing proof of the truth of his story; in still another her name is given as Madame Delmas.

The whole account of the stay in La Vendée is confused and obscure. If he was in a loyal district, surrounded by the Vendéean army, watched over by a faithful nurse, never allowed to go outside the enclosure, and under the special care of a brave officer, how could his enemies get at him to snatch him out of bed and carry him off to prison?

He was followed to La Vendée also by two noblemen who had been active in his deliverance from the Temple—Marquis de Briges and Count de Montmorin. Naundorff's account of these two men is inconsistent and absurd. He says they were supposed to have been killed at the massacre in Paris, and having escaped, they kept their existence a secret from their families and friends, and devoted their lives to the welfare of the Dauphin.

One would suppose that they could better serve his cause by revealing their identity; for their connections were royalist, and had, of course, succeeded to the fortunes and estates of the supposed victims of the Revolution. And why should De Briges go about disguised as an old peasant, and De Montmorin as a *chasseur*, when they were among friends and actively employed as confederates of General Frotté?

Naundorff does not say where he was imprisoned, nor for how long a time; his whole recital is singularly void of dates as well as of names of places and people. It is only in case of his story crossing the facts of history that we are sure of the when and where of the incidents he relates. He does not say how long he stayed in La Vendée; he merely mentions

that from the time of his arrival his affairs were managed by General Frotté and the two noblemen, until after De Frotté's assassination, when he was left to the care of the other two friends alone.

Naundorff having fallen into the hands of his enemies, De Briges appealed to Josephine, with whom he held regular correspondence; and through her influence the prisoner was liberated and restored to his protectors.

If the Government thought it worth while to secure his person and shut him up, it is not likely that Josephine's request would have been granted so easily.

However, he says he was freed; and as his friends considered that he was not safe in France, they prepared to take him out of the country. Before starting they secured a boy of his age and looking exactly like him (this is child number eight in the line of substitution), and sent him with his parents to America, while De Briges and De Montmorin, with a young girl named Marie, escorted Naundorff to Venice, where they remained some time.

After leaving Venice (Naundorff does not give any particulars concerning that sojourn) the party went to Trieste, and from thence to Rome, where Naundorff was secretly protected by Pope Pius VI., being placed at first by himself in a monastery, and afterwards in a villa belonging to a friend of the Pope, where he was joined by De Briges, De Montmorin, and the servant Marie, the party being soon increased by the arrival of his former nurse (now called his "adopted mother"), "the German lady," who in the meantime had been married to a Swiss watchmaker. Naundorff having "a decided taste for the mechanic arts" (this information is meant to refer to Louis XVI. as an amateur locksmith) spent most of his time with the watchmaker, and thus obtained a

superficial knowledge of the trade. De Briges and De Montmorin were often absent, and the others lived in profound seclusion in their country retreat. It was during this interval that Naundorff heard of his mother's death, the sad tidings being divulged through the imprudence of the servant Marie, who yielded to his persistent questioning, and thereby brought upon herself a severe reprimand from his employers. Naundorff gives a harrowing description of his mental agony, culminating in a fainting-fit, on hearing the terrible truth. There is no mention of the other royal victims nor of his "sister" in his grief.

Now, is it likely that an intelligent boy twelve years old or more, and knowing how to read, could have lived a long time at the centre of excitement in France, and afterwards in the freedom of country life and foreign travel, without having heard or read of the execution of the royal pair? It is impossible.

Soon after the arrival of the German lady and her husband appeared also the man and the boy who had been sent to America, and they remained as servants in the family.

Naundorff hints that they were an unfortunate acquisition; he speaks obscurely about a horrible treason, which he will not describe more particularly, and says that the man and the boy finally disappeared.

This is his ending for *the boy sent to America*. Naundorff's allusion to "a boy sent to America" seems to imply some knowledge or suspicion of the whereabouts of the real Dauphin, and in a biography of Duchess d'Angoulême, entitled *Filia Dolorosa*, Naundorff is asserted to have declared that he had been in America, and believed he learned watchmaking there, but was not sure. His apparent ignorance of every language excepting German makes it more probable that he never was

outside of Germany until he started for France to personate the Dauphin.

The house which had served them as asylum was burned; the German lady and her husband died within a few hours of each other, having been poisoned; and De Montmorin returned suddenly with the news that they had been betrayed, and must flee without delay.

The Revolution was advancing in Italy; the Pope could no longer protect the illustrious refugee, and it was high time for them to run for their lives. So they buried their treasures (he does not say what these were) and fled in the middle of the night.

Just before starting, Marie took from her bosom a medallion, containing the miniatures of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, and a paper signed by the Queen, upon which was written her name and the Dauphin's, with the date of his birth, and giving it to Naundorff, said with tears, "Charles, whatever happens, always keep this precious token of the tenderness of your parents, and never part with it!"

Having delivered herself of this tautological apostrophe, the party made haste to escape, and in a few days they were on board of a vessel bound for England.

This episode of the sojourn in Italy appears to have been suggested by the story of Hervagault (the first pretender to identify with the Dauphin), who began his career as impostor in 1803, and who claimed to have been acknowledged by Pope Pius VI., among other illustrious protectors. He declared that the Pope marked him with a hot iron to ensure his identity when the time should come for his recognition and rehabilitation.

Hervagault's narrative and also the more extended memoirs of Naundorff's contemporary rival, Richemont, were published

several years before Naundorff's account of himself appeared in print; and it is evident that he studied those works attentively before preparing his own essay.

The next misfortune was the sudden death by poison of the Marquis de Briges and the servant Marie; though whether they died in Italy or on board ship, or who poisoned them, or why, is not stated.

"It is thus," cries Naundorff, "that all my noble friends have perished through crime, victims of their devotion to my person!"

This event left him alone with Montmorin; and soon afterwards he was arrested on the ship (he does not say how or by whom) and carried back to France, where he was shut up in prison. Montmorin escaped, and began at once to search for traces of the prisoner; but some time elapsed before he found him.

Naundorff says that five days after his arrest he was visited in his cell by two strangers, who asked him a great many questions concerning his past life, and demanded that he should voluntarily renounce his inherited rights and take refuge in a monastery, where alone he would be safe. He rejected their proposal, and defied their power; the result being that they left him in anger, uttering threats which were speedily fulfilled.

Naundorff gives at great length the questions and answers which constituted that interview, he having remembered almost every word after more than thirty years. The result is so unfavourable as evidence that it is a wonder he placed it in the record. He assumes that he told the truth on that occasion, and yet his statements are in frequent contradiction to his more extended story, and do not agree at all with historic facts.

He did not know whether it was summer or winter when he

left the Tuileries ; he said that he and his sister slept in their mother's chamber in the Temple, although each person had a separate room, and he described the evasion by declaring that he was carried out of the prison in a large wicker basket,—at least he supposed so, for he lost consciousness as soon as he was put into the basket, and when he came to himself he was in a bed, and under the care of a woman he had never seen before and whose name he never heard, although she protected him a long time with the tenderness of a mother. There is not a word about the wooden doll, or the sojourn in the garret, or the exit in the coffin, or the transfer to the false bottom of the carriage, and yet he tells the story with apparent sincerity, and he met the doubts of his interrogators by assuring them that he never lied.

The discomfited wretches were replaced by three men masked and in black garments, who proceeded to inflict a peculiar species of torture upon the prisoner, with the view of destroying his resemblance to the royal family.

One of the men tied him to a chair, another held his head, and the third, drawing a picture of the Dauphin from his pocket, and glancing alternately from the picture to the prisoner, made signals to his accomplices to begin their work, which consisted in pricking his face all over with a sharp instrument, and then applying a poisonous liquid to the innumerable wounds. They then departed, having uttered no sound, excepting an occasional burst of laughter, which Naundorff characterizes as "satanic." The next day his face was swollen so that he could not see ; his sufferings were intense, and after the first effect had subsided his countenance remained full of spots resembling the marks of smallpox. For a long time he was badly disfigured, and it was many years before his skin recovered its smooth surface and fresh colour.

This story of disfigurement is said by Naundorff's latest partisans to have been verified by the testimony of a Legitimist of Sens in 1835.

It is more probable that Naundorff, whose memoirs were not published until 1836, heard of that story, and worked it into his narrative for greater effect. In any case, the incident, even if true, does not furnish any proof of the identity of Naundorff with the Dauphin. Naundorff asserts also in this connection that an attempt was made (he does not say whether on the same occasion or by the same persons) to destroy with a sharp knife a natural mark on one of his thighs. This mark, he says, was in the form of a dove with outstretched wings, and was made by a peculiar arrangement of the veins. It was important to obliterate this proof of identity because it had been minutely described in a paper written, signed, and sealed by the King and Queen in the Temple, for the benefit of the Dauphin in after times.

In struggling to free himself from his tormentor while this outrage was pending, Naundorff cut the little finger of one hand against the sharp knife. The wound was circular and very deep, leaving a large scar, which remained always, another convincing proof of his identity.

After a while, Montmorin discovered the place of his imprisonment by the aid of Josephine, who induced Fouché to deceive Napoleon, and set the prisoner free. His friends spent the winter of 1803 in working actively in his behalf; and early in 1804 it was resolved to send him to Ettenheim, to the care of the Duke d'Enghien, who was also faithful to the Dauphin's interests. But Naundorff's health was so much impaired by his recent sufferings that he was not able to travel, and so he stayed a while in concealment, carefully tended by adherents of the cause. In the meantime, Pichegru

was sent to the Count de Provence to impart the secret of the Dauphin's rescue from the Temple and continued existence among his friends. But instead of receiving these tidings in the manner expected, the Count abused the confidence reposed in him and betrayed the asylum of the refugee, so that he was again obliged to flee for his life, accompanied, as usual, by the faithful Montmorin.

They started for Ettenheim; but Naundorff's strength gave out entirely when within a day's journey of the place, and he was forced to hide in the woods near Strasburg, while his friend went on to find a conveyance for the exhausted traveller. Soon a party of horsemen rode by, and one of them, hearing a slight movement in the bushes, alighted and discovered Naundorff.

"Taking a paper from his pocket, which," says Naundorff, "probably contained a description of myself, he asked abruptly, 'Where is your companion?'"

Naundorff would not betray his friend, and the company carried him off to Strasburg, where he was imprisoned in the fortress until he was taken out by a detachment of police officers, who put him into a post-chaise and travelled with him three days and nights without stopping. In the middle of the third night the journey ended, and Naundorff was left in the dungeon of a prison.

Now let us examine these statements. Naundorff says that the Swiss woman (German lady) and her husband were poisoned just before he was obliged to flee from Italy, and that the Marquis de Briges and Marie the servant suffered the same fate a few days later, all on account of their devotion to himself.

It would surely have been much easier to poison him alone and be done with it. To kill four harmless and insignificant

persons because a fifth person equally attainable was obnoxious to the murderers is absurd. This is one of numerous circumstances related by Naundorff to enforce the idea that he was protected by a special providence, and saved from destruction because he was a king—the Lord's anointed—whom his enemies dared not touch.

His real object in killing off his companions is to explain how it was that when he began to lay claim to identity with the Dauphin he could not summon any witnesses in his favour nor offer any tangible proof of the truth of his story.

The events which belong to the sojourn in Italy must have taken place between 1795 and 1803 ; because the child died in the Temple, June 8th, 1795, and Naundorff speaks of himself as having escaped from prison in France in 1803. Consequently the "adopted mother" must have died before 1803. Yet in another portion of the memoirs it is stated that the woman (or lady) whose name Naundorff says in one place he never knew, and in another place promises to give her name in order to convince his "sister" of his identity, was a Madame Delmas, who was certainly alive as late as 1824, as in a paper signed by her, but not dated, she mentions having met Barras in 1824. In the same communication she declares that the Dauphin was saved by Barras and Josephine, that he was carried out of the Temple on a bier, and that he was sent to America.

It is impossible to tell whether many of the documents quoted are genuine or forged ; but, at any rate, if this Madame Delmas was the adopted mother, she was not poisoned in Italy, as Naundorff relates.

If Naundorff was seized on board ship and imprisoned in France it is not likely that Montmorin could have found him so easily, nor that Josephine could have effected his escape.

If he was imprisoned because he was the rightful King, precautions would have been taken to keep his whereabouts a secret, and Josephine would not have desired to deceive Napoleon by the aid of Fouché in a matter which would have resulted in the ruin of Napoleon's plans. The story of the disfigurement in prison is highly absurd. Why should the miscreants bring a portrait of the Dauphin and gaze alternately upon the picture and upon the prisoner before beginning their task? And why should they be so anxious to destroy the resemblance when, according to Naundorff, there was no lack of children who "looked exactly like" him, and therefore like the Bourbons.

And then, it must be remembered that spoiling the complexion would not destroy the resemblance. There would still remain the form of the face, the cut of the features, the expression, the colour of eyes and hair, the general outline of the whole figure.

Naundorff's description of the attempted flight to Ettenheim is evidently an invention. The journey was made on foot, causing much delay and great discomfort, ending in exhaustion. But why should they have tried to walk so far? If Naundorff was protected by Josephine and Barras and the royalists of La Vendée, they could surely amongst them have contributed sufficient means to hire a horse and wagon for the occasion, especially as speed and safety would be promoted thereby. There was always money enough to secure a house and buy food and clothing wherever these wanderers took up their abode; therefore there could have been no reason for tramping through the country on foot.

Naundorff conveys the idea through the whole account of his adventures that a large and powerful confederacy of enemies had their eyes on him, and were watching his every step.

So these horsemen, on discovering him, had ready a mysterious paper, which they studied, and on the strength of which they carried him off to prison in Strasburg, and from thence sent him to some unknown dungeon at a distance of three days and three nights' rapid travelling.

We are informed later that this dungeon was in the fortress of Vincennes; and while Naundorff was left to the miseries of a cold, dark cell, with bread and water for his sustenance, and rats for his companions, the Duke d'Enghien, imprisoned in the same fortress, was shot, and General Pichegru, also under arrest, was strangled by order of Napoleon, the sole reason for the double murder being the devotion of these two men to Naundorff's interests!

Was there ever a more ridiculous travesty of important historical facts?

After four years of imprisonment, during which time Naundorff's clothes were not changed, nor his body washed, nor his hair cut, he was awakened one night by his jailer, accompanied by Montmorin, who had come to deliver him again from bondage. Aghast at the captive's appearance, Montmorin could not at first recognise his friend, but the jailer took one of Naundorff's hands and held it up to the lantern to show the circular scar on the little finger, and Montmorin was satisfied. The two comrades departed immediately for a safe asylum, and Naundorff was speedily restored to cleanliness and comfort. But his long sufferings resulted in a dangerous illness, which threatened to terminate in death. However (to quote Naundorff's modest language), "the Providence which watched over me, and whose immutable designs I do not seek to penetrate, reserved me for a destiny which the future alone can reveal to the world."

He recovered almost miraculously, but as soon as he was

able to move he was obliged to flee, his asylum having been discovered by his enemies.

The two friends travelled as rapidly as possible to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where Naundorff was fitted out with new clothes. This was in the spring of 1809, and Naundorff makes the mournful reflection that up to this date he had endured, since his arrival in the Temple, seventeen years of imprisonment; for even during the intervals of sojourn with his friends he was still a captive.

Knowing that Josephine was his chief protector, he asked Montmorin why she had left him so long in his misery, whereupon Montmorin informed him that Napoleon, having discovered her previous efforts in the Dauphin's behalf, had endeavoured to prevent further interference with his plans by giving her to understand that he intended to name her son, Eugene Beauharnais, as his successor upon the throne of France. This bribe had the desired effect. However, she resolved to free the prisoner once more; her generosity, as Montmorin declared, not being prompted by greatness of soul, but by prudence, she being aware that it was Napoleon's intention to separate from her and contract another marriage as soon as the rightful sovereign should have succumbed to his hardships in the dungeon of Vincennes.

Montmorin proceeded to relate other events which had taken place during Naundorff's long imprisonment. The arrest of the Duke d'Enghien, he said, was due to the treachery of a royalist, who, supposing that Naundorff was already under the Duke's protection at Ettenheim, imparted the information to the enemy. The Duke being considered a formidable obstacle to the carrying out of Napoleon's plans of persecution against the fugitive King, he was shot dead with as little delay as possible.

“Yes!” exclaimed Montmorin, in a mournful tone, “the Duke d’Enghien was sacrificed to the dark policy of Napoleon. Our secret was the cause of his death!”

During this stay in Frankfort, Montmorin gave Naundorff a paper, written by the Queen in the Temple and signed by the King, containing a description of the physical marks upon the Dauphin’s body, with other proofs of his identity, and sewed them into the collar of Naundorff’s overcoat for greater security. In this connection Naundorff mentions that from the time of his deliverance from the dungeon of Vincennes he was conscious of a change in Montmorin’s manner, and when he begged him to return to the old familiar ways of speech and conduct, Montmorin replied,—

“No, my Prince, that must not be. Times are changed. I implore you to permit me to do as I think right in this matter. Nobody must suspect our former relations.”

On one occasion Naundorff told him of the proposition made by his enemies that he should retire to a monastery, and he asked Montmorin whether he knew the boy who had been invested with the Dauphin’s name and rank and rights. Montmorin then enlightened him concerning the false Dauphin sent to the Vendéans, and warned him also against other pretenders, already working against him.

After putting themselves in communication with their friends in France, and receiving a letter of credit from the same source, the two friends left Frankfort in haste, and travelled by post toward Bohemia, being presented on the way to the Duke of Brunswick, who gave them letters of recommendation for Prussia. Not being allowed to enter Dresden, they returned to Prussia, and stopped over night at a village, where they were arrested as spies, and taken before Major Schill, then in command of a military

corps in that vicinity. He was satisfied with the letter given by the Duke of Brunswick, and treated Naundorff in a manner which appeared to imply a knowledge of the stranger's identity; but not being able to protect the travellers in the disturbed state of the country, he sent them on their route under the escort of a detachment of cavalry. Before they could reach a place of safety, they were surrounded by the enemy, and a fight ensued, in which Montmorin was killed and Naundorff wounded, and robbed of all his clothing, except his overcoat, which he found beside him on coming to himself in the fortress of Wesel, whither he had been carried in a state of insensibility.

As soon as he could travel he was sent with other prisoners to the galleys of Toulon; but managed, with the help of a German soldier, to escape on the way; and the two made haste to return to Germany.

During their wanderings the soldier was arrested while searching for food; and Naundorff was obliged to journey on alone, carrying the knapsack of his lost companion.

After various adventures, he was resting one day beside the road, when a carriage passed by containing only one passenger, a young man, who, after exchanging a few words with the pedestrian, gave him a seat in the carriage, and they travelled together to Wittenberg.

The next day the stranger departed in advance of his companion, having made arrangements for Naundorff's transport by private conveyance to the Prussian frontier, then by post to Potsdam, and again by private carriage to Berlin, where the unknown met him at the barrier, and effected a safe entry by presenting his own passport to the police officer as belonging to Naundorff. He then escorted Naundorff to the Black Eagle Hotel, and went his way to his own quarters.

Let us examine these statements.

We are told that when Montmorin found Naundorff in the dungeon of Vincennes, he was in doubt as to the identity, until the jailer lifted the prisoner's hand and showed the scar upon a certain finger.

Now, if Naundorff was unrecognisable, Montmorin would have been likely to ask him questions concerning matters known to them both and which other persons did not know, in which case the answers would have been decisive. Naundorff says that the jailer never spoke to him and never visited him, excepting when he brought the daily rations of bread and water, and then the obscurity was only slightly illuminated by the dark lantern which the man carried in his hand. If this be true, how could he see a small scar on one of Naundorff's fingers? and if he did see it, how could he know that there was anything peculiarly significant to Montmorin's perceptions in a cicatrice such as might be found upon hundreds of hands both in and out of prison? Naundorff says the scar was the sign of a wound made by cutting his hand against the sharp knife used by his enemies in trying to efface the birth-mark of the Holy Spirit upon his left thigh. But there is no instrument which could inflict a *circular* wound upon a finger falling against it, unless the finger were cut off. Naundorff says later that while in the dungeon one of his fingers was bitten severely by a rat, and that the scar always remained.

Next, with regard to Josephine, Montmorin said that Josephine had been induced by Napoleon to renounce her patronage of the Dauphin through the hope of seeing her son Eugene recognised as the heir to the new empire. Nevertheless, she betrayed the secret of Naundorff's dungeon to his friends, and again employed Fouché as her agent in his

escape, her object being to have ready a weapon of revenge in view of the threatened divorce and the projected second marriage of the Emperor.

This explanation is contradictory, and from every point of view incredible. If Josephine still hoped to have her son proclaimed Napoleon's successor, she would not have restored the Dauphin to the royalist party, and her conduct after the divorce and the marriage proved that she was not actuated by the motive ascribed to her by Montmorin. Moreover, there are authentic records which prove that Naundorff's introduction of Josephine as a chief actor in the mystery of the Temple is entirely without foundation.

The ascription of the D'Enghien murder to Napoleon's fear of Naundorff would be ludicrous if the theme were not so tragical. Naundorff's biographer, commenting upon this astounding assertion, quotes page after page from books accessible to everybody, describing the rise, progress and end of the deplorable event, his sole object being to make the catastrophe hang upon Naundorff's continued existence.

Montmorin's opportune revelations respecting false Dauphins, and his delivery of the papers necessary for the identification of his "Prince," are a bit of melodramatic romance, preparing the way for Montmorin's speedy death, and Naundorff's consequently independent assumption of his future *rôle*. This is the first mention of the famous paper of identification, the longer description having been given by Naundorff in 1842, six years after the memoir was written. In this first account there is no mention of the paper having been hidden in the wall by the King; nor of Naundorff having sent it to La Vendée through Laurent. Naundorff says here, and again in another place, that the Queen wrote the paper, and that it afterwards came into Montmorin's hands.

As this is the end of Montmorin, it may as well be said here that there is no evidence of Naundorff ever having seen such a man. But the Abbé Laprade was told in 1801 that a member of the Montmorin family told her school companion that the Dauphin was delivered from the Temple, and that an uncle of hers lost his life in defending the Dauphin, after having followed him and delivered him from many dangers.

However, this would not apply to Naundorff, as it happened before 1801, whereas Naundorff's Montmorin was alive till 1809. But it may have put it into Naundorff's head to say that Montmorin was supposed to have been killed in the massacres at Paris, although this would not cover the girl's assertion that her uncle perished after the Dauphin's rescue. The same story probably led Naundorff to speak of Montmorin as wearing a disguise in La Vendée, and avoiding his family all the rest of his life.

The ensuing experiences of hospitals, prisons, escapes, and wanderings are such as might be narrated by any vagrant soldier, or by any peaceful citizen familiar with printed details of the vicissitudes of war; although he would be a bold novelist who should try to make his readers believe that robbers on a battle-field would leave a new overcoat behind, after stripping the apparently dead owner of the rest of his clothes! The account of the latter part of the journey to Berlin is altogether apocryphal. There was nothing remarkable in a good-natured traveller by post-chaise giving a weary pedestrian a lift so far as their roads lay together; and there was no reason why the unknown Naundorff and the future immortalizer of his borrowed name should not have gone on to Berlin in company. That the stranger should have hurried thither in advance, after making such magnificent preparations for the journey of his new acquaintance, is

the wonder ! Naundorff implies, in another part of his story, that this mysterious man was providentially sent to his relief, or, at least, was on that road by appointment with unseen authorities ; that he recognised the royal fugitive, and treated him, so far as was possible, in accordance with his rank, and that he gave him his passport, and left him his name, and vanished into obscurity, content to have prepared the advent of the unacknowledged King of France into the kingdom of Prussia. Also, later adherents of Naundorff suggest that the mysterious stranger may have been a secret agent of the King of Prussia, or an emissary of Fouché, forgetting that such an explanation only increases the mystery of Naundorff's being deserted by his friends from the time of his arrival in Berlin.

That the police officer at the city gate should have admitted a young, blue-eyed and fair-haired stranger, whose passport described him as forty-five years old, black-haired and black-eyed, is, if true, a proof that the Government was not so strict in the matter of papers of identification as Naundorff would have us believe.

Behold Naundorff, a stranger in a strange land, bereft of his last friend, and having no resource for support, excepting the small sum of money accidentally left with him by his soldier comrade.

This is how he pictures the case ; but how was it in reality, supposing his story to be true ?

De Briges and De Montmorin were dead ; but there still remained the friends in France, who had recently been informed of Naundorff's safety, and had sent him the letter of credit to Frankfort. If Montmorin took such pains to enlighten his Prince respecting past events, and to provide for the preservation of the papers necessary for identification, he

certainly furnished Naundorff with information concerning persons to be addressed and applied to in case of need. Besides special agents, there was the whole royalist party, needing only to be assured of the Dauphin's existence to rally under his banner; there was Josephine, still powerful, though superseded in her imperial honours; there was Fouché, disapproving of Napoleon's projects, and therefore more likely to advocate the cause of the exile, whom he had already twice freed from the Emperor's grasp.

Moreover, there was a large and respectable French colony in Berlin, among whom "the son of Louis XVI." would have found sympathisers and protectors, if he could have proved his royal pedigree.

Did Naundorff apply to any or all of these sources of aid and comfort? Not he. According to his own story (and we must remember that we have nothing but Naundorff's word to rely upon in this narrative), he asked for admission into the army; but the commanding officer informed him in a severe tone that the King of Prussia did not accept foreigners as soldiers. His friend, the original Naundorff, advised him to apply directly to the King, who was easy of access after the daily parade. But Naundorff the second had "private reasons" for not following this counsel, and, instead, he rented an apartment (it was at No. 52, Schützen Strasse, in case of any worshipper desiring to make a pilgrimage to the place), and sought the acquaintance of other watchmakers, with the intention of opening business for himself. Naundorff says that this was near the close of 1810, and adds that he did not know the precise date of his arrival at Berlin, because in his troubled and changeful existence he had not been able to keep track of days, or weeks, or months.

On setting up as a watchmaker it was, of course, necessary

to fulfil the requisitions of the police respecting business undertakings, and accordingly Naundorff was requested to send the usual papers (consisting of the names and residence of his parents, his own record of birth, and a certificate of good conduct from the authorities of his latest abiding place) to the municipal office.

Not having any such papers, he was at a loss what to do, and his housekeeper, Madame Sonnenfeld (also furnished him by the mysterious Naundorff, who had now finally disappeared, leaving no trace), to whom he had already confided the secret of his identity, advised him to tell his story to M. LeCoq, the Chief of Police, who was a Frenchman by birth. Accordingly, he wrote to LeCoq, who visited him and demanded proofs of his assertions. So the famous overcoat was ripped open and the papers brought to light. LeCoq recognised the handwriting of the Queen, and also the seal and signature of the King. The next day he called again, and urged Naundorff to lend him the papers to show to the King. Naundorff refused, and finally insisted upon being presented himself to the King. LeCoq said that could not be done immediately, but he should see the King if he would allow Prince Hardenberg, the Prime Minister, to read the papers. Naundorff then cut off the seal, which he always afterwards retained, and handed all the papers to LeCoq, who, however, took only the one written by the Queen, and departed, assuring Naundorff that he would not in future be molested by the police, as arrangements would be made to satisfy the requirements of the magistrates.

His papers being again demanded by the authorities, he applied to LeCoq, who told him that the affair would soon be settled, and a short time afterwards informed him that he must not stay in Berlin, as his presence there was too dan-

gerous both for himself and for the Government; but he should be established in some neighbouring village, under the name of Naundorff, and furnished with a patent, which would protect him from all interference. In case of any official demanding the usual papers, he was to say that they were in the possession of the Chief of Police. Accordingly, the patent was made out under the name of Charles William Naundorff, and the man lived in peace until 1812, when he removed to Spandau. On his departure, LeCoq furnished him with money and the necessary papers to facilitate his admittance as a citizen of Spandau, counselling him at the same time to observe the strictest secrecy concerning his origin, as the least imprudence would ruin him, the King not being able to protect him against Napoleon, in case of his whereabouts being discovered.

So Naundorff settled in Spandau, and won the goodwill of his neighbours, and worked diligently at his trade, his object being to gain enough money to hunt up his "sister," of whom he had lost all trace. Madame Sonnenfeld still lived with him, and passed as his wife. Soon after his arrival in Spandau, he was again visited by LeCoq, who gave him a new supply of money, and urged upon him the necessity for silence with regard to his private history.

Let us examine these statements. Naundorff declares that he did not know the date of his arrival in Berlin, having lost track of time in his various imprisonments. But, according to his own story, he had been wandering about the country for several days or weeks before he met the original Naundorff; and after that meeting he had conversed for hours with his new acquaintance, and had stopped in Wittenberg, and in Potsdam, on the way to Berlin. Is it likely, under such

circumstances, that he at the time should not be aware of the date of his arrival? It is indeed very probable that he afterwards forgot the date, not knowing then the game he was later to attempt to play.

One of the (apparently) strongest arguments advanced by Naundorff and his partisans in favour of his foreign origin is the asserted fact that he cannot be proved to have been born in Prussia. He claimed to have been allowed to live more than a year in Berlin without the necessary papers of identification, and to have been admitted to the citizenship of Spandau in the same exceptional way, and to have been permitted to marry, all without showing his certificates of parentage, birth, baptism, and good conduct; the exception being due to the orders of the Chief of Police, in virtue of Naundorff's revelation of his royal origin.

This statement is not supported by any proof whatever, and even if it be true that Naundorff was excused from showing papers which he did not possess and could not procure, the fact would not go to strengthen his explanation. He arrived in 1810, only two years after the law respecting the papers of identification had been enacted, and if he had been leading a wandering life before that time, it would, very likely, be impossible to furnish the necessary certificates. No American or Englishman could have complied with such a law, for no such papers were required at home; indeed, scarcely any foreigner would have been able to give proofs of his identity, and no doubt exceptions were continually being made by the authorities. There is no proof that he ever saw LeCoq, or lent him the paper he mentioned. The Prussian Government denied that statement officially; and even if it were true that he once possessed papers written by Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, there is no proof that he came by them honestly.

The name inserted in his passport was Naundorff, and the place of residence, Weimar. He said that the passport was lent him by a stranger, who met him suddenly and disappeared mysteriously. But shortly before he fell in with this man he says he was told by a friendly host, who had given him shelter, that in case of his being asked whence he came he must say, "from Weimar," in order to escape the danger of being arrested as a deserter. No such person as the man described was known in Weimar, and the name does not belong to that region. There is a village called Nauendorf, near Halle, and the name is common in that part of Germany. That the policeman at the city gate should have admitted in quick succession two persons using the same passport, one of whom did not answer at all to the particulars given in that paper, is highly improbable, as is also the conduct of the benevolent stranger towards Naundorff the second. If he felt so deep an interest in the wanderer as to pay his expenses to Berlin, and cause his admittance into the city on a false passport, he would not have been likely to leave him there alone and helpless, and without a clue to the whereabouts of his unknown friend.

Again, it is not likely that LeCoq, the Chief of the Berlin Police, would tell a vagrant that he must not stay in Berlin because his presence was dangerous both for himself and the Government, and then allow him to live there more than a year longer. Nor is it likely that LeCoq gave him money on two occasions, and visited him in Spandau to urge upon him the necessity of keeping his royal birth a secret. All that Naundorff tells about LeCoq conveys the impression that, if there is any truth in the story, LeCoq considered the stranger a harmless monomaniac, and flattered him accordingly. But it is more probable that Naundorff never saw LeCoq. That important official had something else to do than run





Karl William Auendorff.
At Fifty years of age.
1765



after every impostor who tried to make a sensation in Berlin. If the Government had believed in Naundorff's identity with the Dauphin, he would have been treated differently, and means would have been taken to make his residence known to the royalist party in France and the royal family in exile.

Naundorff states that his chief object was to earn money enough to go in search of "his sister," of whom he had lost all trace. If Naundorff knew how to read, there was no difficulty in learning the whereabouts of the Duchess d'Angoulême at any time.

With regard to the precious documents, supposed to have been forcibly retained by the Prussian Government, there is no proof that such papers ever existed.

Naundorff stated explicitly that LeCoq took only one of the offered papers, and yet his later demands imply that LeCoq was in possession of all the documents necessary for identification. With regard to the question whether Naundorff was admitted to citizenship without the legal certificates required by the new law of 1808, we have only his own statements to rely upon. There are two official documents concerning his antecedents, which seem to show that there was nothing peculiar in his case; and the certificates made out for him in Spandau do not imply any irregularity in municipal routine on his account.

The Prussian official account of Naundorff is as follows :

"Charles William Naundorff, son of Charles Naundorff, locksmith, born in 1786, in Neustadt-Eberswald, a few miles from Spandau.

"He learned early the trade of locksmith—mechanician—watchmaker, which he practised with skill until 1806. When the French occupied Spandau in that year he joined a band of

guerillas, organized in that region, and in the course of his adventures made the acquaintance of a French officer, named Marassin, who introduced him to one of his friends, a young man, who, in the intimacy of private conversation, tried to make his companions believe that he was the Dauphin, or, at least, that he was intimately connected with him. As proof of his assertions, he related a mass of anecdotes about what happened in the Temple during the Dauphin's captivity there. This young man was afterwards killed in battle. In 1810, Naundorff returned with his friend, Marassin, to Spandau, and settled down to work at his trade. Marassin, being an ambitious man, and as unscrupulous as he was enterprising, persuaded Naundorff that, through his resemblance to Louis XVI., it would be easy for him to pass himself off for the Dauphin in France, where the people were tired of Napoleon. After arranging the matter carefully, and recalling the anecdotes told by their dead friend, Marassin went to France to prepare the way for Naundorff's appearance, while Naundorff continued at his trade, awaiting a summons from Marassin."

In 1812, he asked and obtained the citizenship of Spandau. He married in 1818, and must have produced his certificate of birth, and the consent of his parents to his marriage, or else a certificate of their decease. The documents relative to the birth of Naundorff are deposited at Spandau and at Brandenburg.

The other official paper is a manifesto published by the French Government in 1839, containing an account of Naundorff's antecedents communicated by the Prussian Government to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in France.

"Naundorff belongs to a Jewish family in Prussian Poland. He went to Berlin in 1810; lived in the house of a cooper;

earned his living by selling wooden clocks ; falsely declared himself married ; lived with a soldier's widow named Christine Harfert. In 1812, he removed to Spandau, and obtained the right of citizenship as a watchmaker. In 1818, he married the daughter of a pipe-maker of Havelberg named Einert. According to the civil register, he was a Protestant of the Augsburg confession, and forty-three years old, the date of birth being 1775—that is to say, ten years before the birth of the Dauphin, son of Louis XVI. Two of his children were born in Spandau, and baptized by the Lutheran pastor, Nicholas. In 1822, Naundorff sold his workshop, and moved to Braundenburg, where he continued his trade, but without much success. In 1824, he was tried for arson, and acquitted for lack of sufficient proof.

“ In September of the same year, he was accused of coining false money, and at this epoch he imagined a romance, according to which he was born in Paris, as son of a prince. Convicted of complicity in counterfeiting, he was condemned to three years at hard labour in the penitentiary of Brandenburg.

“ After his liberation he lived in Crossen, where he announced himself as the son of Louis XVI., gave himself the title of Prince, and caused a large book to be printed in support of that fable. In order to escape the legal tribunals, he took refuge first in Dresden, then in Switzerland, and finally in Paris. During his stay in France he succeeded in making many dupes, and in profiting by their credulity ; but at last the Government thought it necessary to put an end to his impostures and manœuvres (although these were rather ridiculous than dangerous) by putting in force the authority afforded by the law, which banishes from France any foreigner who disturbs the peace. Since that expulsion, Naundorff has lived in England, and continued there the same *rôle*. In order

to add to the number of his partisans, he claims to be in communication with celestial spirits, in consequence of which he has capped the climax of his intrigues by declaring himself the founder of a new religious sect."

These two documents differ in their statements, and have the air of having been made up, in part, of hearsay testimony. But they do not suggest any mystery concerning Naundorff, nor any plot on the part of the Prussian Government. At the most they imply that his antecedents were not unmistakably known, and that the lack of papers of identification was not an unheard-of circumstance in those days.

Naundorff stated that in 1812 he made the acquaintance of Marassin, a French officer, who arrived in Spandau in deplorable plight, and was generously assisted by him with clothing and money for the continuation of his journey.

On hearing prophecies of the speedy downfall of Napoleon, Naundorff wrote to LeCoq, asking whether the time would not soon be favourable for declaring his identity and demanding his rights. LeCoq did not reply; and Naundorff wrote to Prince Hardenberg, with the same result. Just then misfortunes began to multiply. The typhus fever broke out in Spandau, and Naundorff was seized with the malady. The Russians bombarded the town, and finally set it on fire, burning up the greater part of the buildings; but, by a sort of miracle, the flames were arrested before reaching Naundorff's dwelling, although the house adjoining his, and covered by the same roof, was burned to ashes. After his recovery, and the departure of the enemy, Naundorff wrote to the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria, announcing his name and residence; he wrote also to Prince Hardenberg and LeCoq to demand again his papers.

Not one of these letters was answered. Already, in 1809, the two Emperors had been informed by Montmorin of Naundorff's arrival in Prussia, and in 1811 M. Thor de la Sonde had sent a message directly concerning him to various sovereigns, also without avail.

The "miracle," which spared Naundorff's house while burning up that of his next neighbour, is only one of a long series of supernatural interpositions in his behalf. He felt himself reserved by Providence for a great destiny, and he believed that destiny to be the throne of France. Whether he was sincere in these naïve expressions of self-conceit, or made use of common incidents in this fashion to impose upon credulous minds, is of little consequence; in any case history ignores the theory of human beings elected and selected and protected by celestial favouritism, and science permits us to believe that Naundorff's house escaped because water put out the fire.

Whether Naundorff ever wrote letters to the King and the Emperor, and Hardenberg and LeCoq, as he says he did, cannot be determined.

In the account of his companionship with Montmorin there is no mention of Montmorin having announced Naundorff's advent in Prussia, and if LeCoq took as deep an interest in the matter as Naundorff asserts, it is strange that he should suddenly cease to hold any communication with the illustrious exile, especially as at this junction the Bourbons were likely to regain their lost power. Naundorff's reference to M. Thor de la Sonde is a specimen of the disingenuousness of his whole method. He says M. Thor de la Sonde "sent a message directly concerning me to various sovereigns"; whereas he admits elsewhere that the message sent by that gentleman in 1811 was to apprise the said monarchs of the

existence of the Dauphin, and later circumstances prove that Thor de la Sonde knew nothing about Naundorff at that time and for many years afterwards.

There is no doubt that during this troubled period there was a great deal of talk and conjecture among all classes of people respecting the fate of the Dauphin; probably, too, the crowned heads of Europe knew more about the matter than most of their subjects did; knew enough, at least, to pay no heed to the proclamations of an ambitious "crank" like Naundorff. With regard to this epoch, Naundorff's biographer quotes a long extract from a work entitled, *Extraits des Memoires de Talleyrand-Perigord*, at the close of which citation Talleyrand relates that in 1796, when Bonaparte was in Italy, Josephine was told by one of her female friends that the Dauphin did not die in the Temple, but was secreted in Paris for two months after the supposed decease, with a lady named Baratrice, and was then sent to La Vendée. There, after having been poisoned twice and nearly captured three times by his former enemies, he was sent to Lisbon by Charette and Stofflet, who alone were in possession of the secret. All possible means were employed to convince Josephine of the truth of this story, in the hope of gaining over her husband to use his victorious armies and those of his allies in starting a counter-revolution.

Josephine was greatly excited by this communication, and wrote to Napoleon in favour of the project; but he forbade her having anything to do with the affair, and so she broke off the negotiation, and the scheme ended there.

After Napoleon became first Consul, he decided to investigate the matter, and sent for the lady who had given the information. She was dead; but her son responded to the summons, and gave his mother's papers into Bonaparte's

hands ; the result being that the young man became immensely wealthy, and made no further effort in behalf of Louis XVII. In 1814, Josephine was ordered by Napoleon to tell Talleyrand the circumstances, sending at the same time copies of all the papers in his possession. But Talleyrand, knowing that only the original papers were of any value, and suspecting the whole story to be one of Fouché's inventions, dismissed Josephine's messengers with the advice to avoid saying anything to anybody on the subject, for fear of fatal consequences. The hint was taken, and the messengers received ample remuneration for the discretion observed. Talleyrand lost no time in letting Louis XVIII. know what had passed ; but he said nothing to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia. The Emperor, however, appeared soon afterwards to have been informed by some one else, and he asked Talleyrand what he thought about it.

Talleyrand suggested that it might be a device of Bonaparte for dividing the royalists and stirring up a civil war ; in which case he would be sure to profit by the quarrel ; and when the Emperor objected that perhaps after all Louis XVII. might still be alive, Talleyrand replied that if he would show himself and claim his rights, the time was favourable for recognising him, as the Allied Sovereigns were present to judge the case ; but if a pretender were to appear without proofs, or proofs were to be offered without the presence of the claimant, diplomatic prudence would require that the demand should not be granted. The Emperor agreed to this, and said that Josephine must reveal the hiding place of Louis XVII. before anything could be done ; whereupon Talleyrand rejoined that it would probably be easier for her to multiply written documents than to bring to light the young King, and, in the meantime, it would be better to effect the restoration of the monarchy with

the means at hand. The Emperor concurred with this opinion. Josephine died soon afterwards of a malignant quinsy (Gruau hints that she was poisoned because of her adherence to Naundorff!), and there was no further talk of Louis XVII.

This quotation from Talleyrand, if genuine, is of great importance. Naundorff's biographer admits that there exists an edition of this work which does not contain all that he repeats; but the material must exist somewhere, one would suppose, otherwise testimony so damaging to Naundorff's story would not have been brought forward. His biographer, indeed, goes lightly over the contradictions, remarking merely that some of the statements are, of course, untrue, because Naundorff has declared that Josephine was one of the principal agents in his deliverance from the Temple, and therefore she could not have first learned of that event long after it happened; but ordinary students of history will not be satisfied with such an explanation. Talleyrand's recital shows that Josephine knew nothing about the escape of the Dauphin till told of it by her friend, whose story, moreover, differs so essentially from Naundorff's account of the sojourn in La Vendée as to destroy its authority entirely; while it proves that all the pretended descriptions of the manner of the Dauphin's deliverance were made up, more or less, of conjecture and gossip.

According to Naundorff, the Dauphin was under the direct care of General Frotté, while a host of other persons shared the secret and assisted in the plot, and all their efforts could not prevent his being snatched out of bed and carried off to prison by his enemies.

According to Josephine's friend, Charette and Stofflet were the only persons who knew of the Dauphin's escape, and they saved him by sending him to Lisbon.

Certainly these two stories do not hang together, and neither of them agrees with the probabilities of the case, as revealed through a fuller understanding of the conduct and motives of Louis XVIII.

Gruau goes on to quote from a work entitled, *L'Empire, ou dix ans sous Napoleon*, said to have been written by M. de Canisy, wherein he states that at the time of the separation, Josephine requested a private conversation with Napoleon, and on being afterwards urged by her children to tell what occurred during that interview, she replied that she promised Napoleon never to speak of it without his consent, adding that at that decisive moment she was able to prove her devotion to his interests by revealing a fact which, if longer unknown to him, might have a disastrous effect upon his future career. She ended this avowal by exclaiming, "My children, the dead do not always stay in their graves!"

Gruau assumes that the secret revealed by Josephine was Naundorff's escape from Vincennes—an absurd conclusion; for if Napoleon had really succeeded in imprisoning Louis XVII., he would have been likely to know whether the captive was still in his power or not.

Another quotation is given from *Les Memoires et Souvenirs d'un Pair de France*, wherein Josephine is represented as requesting the writer to make public a certain revelation, which he regarded as highly imprudent, and likely to produce incalculable results. He therefore advised her to burn the papers which she showed him, and the contents of which would overturn all Europe; but she declared that she would inform the Emperor Alexander of the facts, and he, being a just man, would undoubtedly espouse the cause of an unfortunate young man.

Accordingly Josephine revealed what the writer says she

ought to have kept secret, as there was a possibility that she had been herself deceived; and her sudden death, which occurred soon afterwards, left in enduring darkness a remarkable episode, in the investigation of which she would have been an important witness.

This last quotation sounds like romance, and in any case the utmost which can be gathered from all the citations is that Josephine believed in the continued existence of the Dauphin. This belief is no proof whatever that Naundorff was the Dauphin, or that she had ever heard of Naundorff. As Talleyrand declared, if the Dauphin had made himself known at the decisive moment when the question of the monarchy and the monarch lay in the hands of the Allied Sovereigns, he would have been proclaimed without hesitation. And if Naundorff's story were true, there was no reason why Josephine, and Fouché, and Barras, and all the rest of the survivors of the asserted conspirators should not have known Naundorff's whereabouts, and have summoned him to the conference.

We are told that the crowned heads of Europe had been informed over and again of Louis XVII.'s presence in Prussia, and if there had been any truth in the message, they would have taken measures to promulgate the news. The treaties of that period show that at first Louis XVIII. was considered merely as Regent because the Dauphin's death had not been satisfactorily established, and there was no motive, either personal or political, which would have determined any of those rulers to uphold the uncle against the nephew, if the rightful heir could have been produced.

The difficulty lay in the fact that Louis XVIII. had secreted the Dauphin so effectually that the sovereigns of Europe did not, at least in the beginning, know where he was; and if

they found out later, they knew that his education had unfitted him for his hereditary position, while the revelation of the secret would probably lead to a repetition of the political disasters from which France and all Europe had already suffered so much.

Naundorff's biographer quotes the following expression from Talleyrand's last will and testament, as a proof of the statesman's tardy remorse for his injustice towards his rightful King.

Talleyrand declared in that document that in his opinion the Bourbons in 1814 did not remount the throne by virtue of hereditary and pre-existent right.

It is very probable that Talleyrand supported Louis XVIII. knowing all the while that Louis XVII. was alive; but that has nothing to do with Naundorff.

Talleyrand was in America in 1795, and returned to Europe in 1796. Before leaving the United States he went to Albany, and had a long private conversation with old Jacob Vanderheyden, a well-known Dutch trader of those days, who was present when the Dauphin was left among the Indians. There was no reason why a man of Talleyrand's character and position should have sought the acquaintance of Vanderheyden, unless the interview had to do with the fate of the abandoned child.

On the return of the Bourbons after the Hundred Days, Naundorff made a second resolve to go to Paris; but the dangerous illness of Madame Sonnenfeld hindered his departure.

However, an unexpected circumstance gave him an opportunity to address the Duchess d'Angoulême.

Marassin, the French officer whom he had helped on a previous occasion, appeared again in Spandau, in even worse

plight than before, he being on his way back to France, after having escaped with his life from the disasters of the Russian campaign.

Naundorff treated him like a long-lost brother, and Marassin expressed a desire to do something to show his gratitude, whereupon Naundorff made a complete disclosure, and it was agreed between them that Marassin should be his forerunner in France. To make the enterprise more sure of success, Marassin was to announce himself as the Dauphin; and when arrested and brought before a tribunal, he was to declare that he was only a messenger, and that the real Dauphin would speedily appear. To this end he was fully instructed by Naundorff respecting the incidents of the Dauphin's childhood, the architecture of the Temple, etc., and furnished with letters to the royal family, especially the Duchess d'Angoulême. He was also properly clothed, money was given him, his despatches were sealed up in a tin box, and he started on his mission with renewed expressions of devotion and gratitude towards his benefactor. Immediately after his departure Naundorff wrote to the Duchess by post to prepare her for the visit; but he never heard anything from her nor from Marassin.

All this happened in 1816.

Naundorff says he was told long afterwards that Marassin was put in prison at Rouen, and afterwards was made to disappear in some unexplained manner, the Pretender Mathurin Bruneau being substituted for him in the official reports.

A close examination of the Marassin episode gives the impression that the whole story was made up by Naundorff out of certain rumours which he heard after his arrival in France respecting a mysterious stranger imprisoned at Rouen in 1816, who claimed identity with the Dauphin, and whose

papers were sent to the police, a small tin box being among the effects left by him with the landlord of the inn where he had lodged.

But even if Naundorff's account is correct, it does not concern the question of identity, which is the one important point of all these investigations.

The date of the first letter written to the Duchess by Naundorff is August 3, 1815. But at that time he did not understand French, and at no later period of his life was he able to write such French letters as are quoted in the biography. The letter sent by Marassin in 1816 may have been written by that friend; but it is impossible to tell what is true and what is false in any of these statements.

The letter of 1816, purporting to have been sent by post immediately after Marassin's departure, announced the continued existence of the Dauphin in the person of Naundorff as though it would be news to the Duchess: "*Je te le dis ; j'existe ; c'est moi ; je suis ton veritable frere,*" etc., etc.; while the letter said to have been written in 1815 assumes her knowledge of his identity, and repeats a mass of trivial incidents belonging to the mutual experiences of the Dauphin and his sister during the eventful journey to Varennes.

It is certain that as late as 1829 Naundorff could neither speak nor write French, and that in 1830 he became intimate at Crossen with Dr. Gaebel, who helped him to acquire a slight knowledge of that language by giving him an easy book to translate, and afterwards lending him *Telemaque*. Dr. Gaebel testified in 1836 that Naundorff learned French easily, but that he spoke German like one who had spoken it from infancy; his language was even forcible, although he wrote German so badly that the good doctor took pains to improve his handwriting. From this we gather that Naundorff was a

man of good intellect, but of very little education ; too bright to have forgotten French if he had ever known it, and not sufficiently studious to acquire it until stimulated by another mind.

However, Naundorff declares that he wrote frequently to his "sister," and we must follow his narrative in due course. The next letter was sent in 1817, and, as before, no heed was paid to it. In 1818, he sent to the Duke de Berri a formal renunciation of his own rights in favour of the Duke's children, demanding for himself only recognition by his family and the restoration of his name and privileges and property as a French Prince, he promising not to make any political disturbance, and to resign all chance of reigning, excepting in case of the heir not having attained the age of twenty-five years, under which circumstances he should consider it his duty to mount the throne until the young King should reach that age, since government by a regent during a royal minority is apt to be disastrous for the people.

No notice was taken of this proposition, and Naundorff decided to go to France and entrust himself to the honour and integrity of the Magistracy of Paris. Just then Madame Sonnenfeld fell ill again, and this time she died. Left alone, Naundorff, "for particular reasons," which he does not explain, resolved not to attempt any longer to return to his rightful place in the world, but to efface himself in eternal oblivion, and to this end he made up his mind to marry. However, he condescended to one more effort, in writing to the Duchess to inform her of his intention, and to threaten her that he should put it into speedy execution if she persisted in her obstinate silence. The Duchess paid no heed to this appeal, and the spouse having already been chosen, the marriage took place in October of the same year, after the Protestant

rite, and in accordance with the laws of Prussia, excepting that the obligation of showing a certificate of birth was dispensed with in his case; at least, he says so.

Naundorff's wife was Johanna Einert, orphan daughter of a Prussian mechanic, a handsome girl of good character, who appears to have borne the trials of her married life with commendable patience.

If Naundorff had really been the Dauphin, and conscious of his identity, he never would have contracted a marriage which must, according to dynastic laws, forbid his resumption of hereditary rights. He had lived for years with a mistress, and after her death he could easily have found another, by imparting the secret of his rank, as he did to her. He evidently had no moral scruples against such a connection, and he certainly would not have renounced all chance of future restoration merely to spite his obdurate relations.

For a time Naundorff's happiness prevented further ambitious essays; he says he forgot his royal relatives, and for the moment his enemies seemed to forget him. But in 1820 the birth of a daughter awakened his pride, and he began again to insist upon his rights. He wrote to the Duke de Berri, and he says he received a reply, in which the Duke declared that he had been deceived with regard to the equity of Naundorff's claim. The letter was dated February 3 (Naundorff believed the letter was afterwards lost), and ten days later the Duke was assassinated. Naundorff says he knows the Duke insisted that Louis XVIII. should descend from his usurped throne and give it to Naundorff.

This exciting event increased Naundorff's desire to appear in Paris. He wrote again to Prince Hardenberg, demanding his papers, and in case of the Prince not being able to obtain them from the King, requesting a passport for Paris under

his rightful name. In the event of the minister not replying, he was warned that Naundorff would apply directly to the King. The minister kept silence, and Naundorff, "from motives which he cannot yet publish," decided to go to Paris to see his sister; but was forced to renounce the plan because of the persecutions set on foot against him through the influence of Hardenberg as head of the Prussian Government.

No one in Spandau knew who Naundorff really was, unless, as Naundorff suspected, the mayor had been duly informed by the Berlin officials.

At the time when Naundorff began to renew his efforts for recognition in France, a new mayor was appointed at Spandau, a worthy man, but obnoxious to the higher classes of citizens on account of his obscure birth. Prince Hardenberg wished him to be removed; but Naundorff became his champion, and Hardenberg (so Naundorff says), perceiving how powerful was Naundorff's influence, induced the King to appoint the deposed mayor to another post; accordingly he was given a higher position in Brandenburg, and Naundorff followed him to his new residence.

To remove the difficulties attending Naundorff's lack of the usual papers, the new Mayor of Spandau sent a certificate of good conduct to the magistrates of Brandenburg, on the strength of which Naundorff was admitted without question to the rights of citizenship.

This was in 1822. Naundorff was now the father of two children, and although still determined to go to Paris, the necessity of providing for his family detained him at home. He bought a house at Brandenburg, became involved in business affairs with a dishonest man, and finally, in 1824, was arrested on a charge of coining false money.



The minute description of his looks and ways given at this period of his career shows that he was fully occupied with his *rôle*, and that his peculiarities in this regard increased and strengthened as time went on. Even his biographer admits that, until his identity became known, his conduct appeared so strange that most persons would have considered him as, to say the least, eccentric. He dressed always in black; on Sundays and on certain other days of the year, especially January 21, the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI., he shut himself up in his chamber and ate nothing till after sundown. When questioned respecting this fast he always replied, "It is a vow which I have taken." The biographer adds: "Such a vow could not have been made by any one excepting the son of the royal victim!"

Oh! yes; it could have been made by an impostor bent on making his fraud successful, or by a crazy man imagining himself the Dauphin.

In the beginning he seems to have been reticent in his statements. On being questioned respecting his antecedents by his earliest acquaintances in Berlin, he replied,—

"Well, suppose I should tell you that I was born a Prince, would you be surprised?"

They laughed at this, and he left the room, and never visited them afterwards. While in Spandau he told several friends that he had many powerful enemies, who had destroyed his family and who were constantly pursuing him; but he would not explain himself further to them, although it was at Spandau that he confided the story to Marassin and sent him on his mission. But in 1822, a few months after he had removed to Brandenburg, he returned to Spandau on business, and while visiting a former neighbour he left in bed a gold

medallion, containing a miniature of Louis XVI., which was found by the servant, and restored to him by his host.

On receiving the locket he caught his friend by the arm, and pointing upwards, cried out :

“As sure as there is a God in heaven, that man was my father! But never say anything about this, or you will ruin us both!”

On his wedding day he wore black, and insisted that his bride should dress in black also; and later he wanted the children to be always attired in mourning, but the mother objected so strongly that the plan was given up.

Although he told his whole history to Madame Sonnenfeld and to Marassin, and hinted about it to almost everybody else, he did not bestow his confidence upon his wife, and it was only by degrees that she became aware of the secret. Whenever she asked him about his parents he turned away his head and his eyes filled with tears. One day he told her that his father and mother had perished in the French Revolution, and that he had only a sister left. Whereupon the good woman exclaimed that she must come and live with them; but Naundorff said she was rich, and despised her brother. On another occasion he drew from his bosom a medallion containing the miniature of Marie Antoinette and showed it to his wife, saying, “That is my mother!” Below the picture was an inscription, which his wife tried to read; but Naundorff snatched away the medallion and effaced the words with his tongue. Struck by the costume of the figure, she cried, “But that is a Queen!” Whereupon he replied: “All I can tell you is that there is not in the world another man like myself. I hope there will come a time when I can lodge you in a palace. You do not know who I am. Support with courage a period of misfortunes which I ought never to have

known. One day, my girl, people will fall on their knees before you, and you will be honoured ; but perhaps you will be less happy then than you are now : you will lose your simplicity and become proud.”

She naturally asked an explanation of those strange words ; but he bade her hastily not to trouble him with questions ; he had bitter sorrows to bear, and she was too young to understand him ; the hour of revelation would come, and till then she must be patient.

This is the third medallion mentioned by Naundorff, and we hear nothing of any of them afterwards. The first, given him by the servant in Italy, contained the pictures of the King and Queen ; the second, left in the bed at Spandau, held only the King ; and this one only the Queen. Naundorff evidently wishes to convey the impression that these miniatures were authentic relics saved from the ruin of his family fortunes ; but if they ever existed, excepting on paper, he would have been glad enough to exhibit them in evidence. An inscription which he could lick off with his tongue must have been very fresh indeed, whatever may have been the material upon which it was written.

Naundorff's reticence towards his wife can only be explained on the ground that she was a woman of good sense, and needed to be imposed upon gradually. He told the whole story to his mistress, Frau Sonnenfeld, at the very beginning of their acquaintance ; he had no reserves before Marassin, and he declared to his friend in Spandau that Louis XVI. was his father ; yet he left the wife of his bosom and the mother of his children a long time in ignorance of his identity. His conduct in this respect shows great cunning.

One day he wrote out the principal events of his past life,

signed the paper by his royal name, and hid the manuscript in a box, which he placed in the clock, he having previously made a false bottom to the clock for the purpose. His wife saw the performance, and the next time she was alone she began to examine the paper. He returned suddenly, and seeing how she was occupied, he snatched away the manuscript, tore it into pieces, and threw the fragments into the fire.

On another occasion he said to her, "I have two names, Charles and William; which do you prefer?" and when she said, "Charles," he embraced her with tears of joy.

He named his first child Amélie, because his sister was called by that name when disguised for the journey to Varennes; his third daughter was named Marie Antoinette; and the youngest, Maria Theresa.

Once he wrote a play, in which he depicted his own early sufferings. The piece was acted by a private society; but when submitted to the censor with a view to printing, it was rejected as too tragical and too improbable.

In 1824, Naundorff, who up to that time had been moderately successful in business affairs, fell into a series of misfortunes, which were evidently due in a great measure to his own imprudence, but which he declares were brought upon him through the machinations of Louis XVIII., who wished to prevent his intended return to France.

The absurdity of this accusation does not need to be demonstrated.

Naundorff forgets to explain why it was that after having been followed and persecuted by his enemies, both republican and royal, at every step of his wanderings until 1810, he should after that date have been left undisturbed; although, instead of being as before a fugitive, protected by friends and rescued in every emergency by powerful influence, he was now alone

and helpless, and living in plain sight of everybody who cared to search for him.

If Louis XVIII. could cause his nephew and heir to be assassinated because he espoused Naundorff's cause, he would not have hesitated to send assassins to put Naundorff himself out of the way for ever.

Also, Naundorff does not explain why he did not continue to hold correspondence with his friends in France after he settled in Prussia. Instead of besieging the Duchess d'Angoulême with letters which were never noticed, why did he not write to his former adherents in La Vendée; to the Legitimists, who would have gladly welcomed the true heir; to the devoted individuals who had effected his liberation from prison, and supplied his wants and sent him a letter of credit in answer to his latest report of his whereabouts ?

Naundorff bought his house in Brandenburg of a man who, he says, was dishonest, and who accused Naundorff of having paid him in counterfeit notes. At the trial of the case Naundorff was acquitted; but the plaintiff appealed to another tribunal, where two witnesses testified to having seen Naundorff sign the false notes. While this process was going on, Naundorff was suspected of stealing money from the strong box of his landlord, with whom he was intimate, the thief being discovered later, he says, in the person of the landlord's daughter. On account of this accusation, Naundorff changed his lodgings; but a short time afterwards an attempt was made to assassinate the landlord, and suspicion fell again upon Naundorff, and was again turned upon the daughter, who was in consequence imprisoned.

At about the same time Naundorff was visited one day by

two strangers, who left a music-box for repairs. Soon afterwards his shop was entered at night by burglars, who stole several valuable watches and a sum of money, but did not take the music-box, although it was easy of access; and this circumstance, together with the fact that the box was never called for, convinced him of the identity of the thieves. A month later he saw one of the men selling those watches in Berlin; but the rogue escaped, and Naundorff was obliged to recompense the owners of the property out of his own pocket.

Scarcely was he beginning to recover from this loss, when he was alarmed one night by a cry of fire; and supposing his own house to be in flames, he rushed out with his wife and children and conveyed them to a place of safety, before inquiring further into the cause of the disturbance. When he found it was the neighbouring theatre that was burning, he hurried to the protection of his own property; but thieves had already taken advantage of the opportunity, and all his valuable stock in trade was gone, while many pieces of his furniture lay broken in the street, and the fire engines had deluged the upper rooms with water in the attempt to stay the progress of the flames.

Now, certainly Louis XVIII. cannot justly be accused of having caused these local troubles, and yet Naundorff makes him responsible, because the various losses thereby sustained assisted the execution of the persecutor's wicked plots!

Naundorff's next misfortune was the charge of having set the theatre on fire, through the explosive materials which he was known to be in the habit of using in connection with certain experiments for improvements in the construction of military projectiles.

After an examination he was released, having given his word of honour that he would not leave Prussia, and especially

Brandenburg, without special permission ; any violation of the promise being sure to be followed by instant arrest.

This requirement was regarded by him as another proof of a political intrigue against his liberty ; although in reality it was an entirely lawful and ordinary proceeding, implying that he was entitled to enjoy the privileges of an honest citizen subject only to the observation naturally resulting from an accusation of crime.

Naundorff declares that it was on the ruins of this charge of incendiarism that the charge of coining false money was built up. He having been absent a short time in Berlin, a certain witness swore to having seen him throw a bag of false crowns into the Spree ; but Naundorff was able to establish an *alibi*, and the trial proved that there was not sufficient evidence for his condemnation. But in the course of his examination he was questioned concerning his antecedents, and instead of asserting himself to be the rightful King of France, he gave Weimar as his former home, and invented a romance by way of accounting for his whereabouts previous to 1810. He said he did this, not because he felt under any obligation to observe the *incognito* required by the Berlin authorities, but because he could not bear to have his origin discussed in connection with the humiliating affair of the false money.

The authorities took the trouble to make inquiries in Weimar, and found that the name of Naundorff did not exist in the town records. Consequently, suspicion was aroused against Naundorff, and when he tried to mend the matter by declaring that he was by birth a Prince, and that his papers had been unjustly withheld from him by the Prussian Government, a new complaint was brought against him as an impudent liar ; the result being that he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment at hard labour in the Brandenburg penitentiary.

According to Naundorff, his trial was a mockery of justice from beginning to end, and his judge was a monster of wickedness ; but it must be remembered that we have only his word for what happened, and his conduct, even on his own showing, was such as to create suspicion in minds trained to be on the look-out for roguery. Certainly his attempt to make the trial of an obscure citizen in a petty town the central incident of a vast European plot for the suppression of a dynasty is absurd. If the King of France and the King of Prussia, with their respective ministers, had put their heads together to annihilate Naundorff, they could have done so without having recourse to a legal process, which at the worst could only effect the temporary imprisonment of the obnoxious individual.

To show how Naundorff was determined to put himself forward as the object of French intrigue, he declares that in 1824 false certificates of the decease of the Dauphin in foreign parts were circulated at the Tuileries, the dates corresponding to the time of his own arrest ; his enemies being confident of their ability to make his imprisonment perpetual !

During the period of confinement Naundorff's thoughts took a religious turn ; he studied the Bible attentively, and became deeply impressed with the character and teachings of Jesus Christ, as opposed to the prevailing conduct of nominal Christians.

His previous ignorance of such subjects is elaborately explained on the ground of his long captivity.

His remembrance of the chapel services at Versailles, and in the monastery at Rome, was his sole association with religious ideas until after his arrival at Spandau, where, having joined the choir of a Protestant church, he listened to sermons about Jesus, and felt a curiosity to know more about Him. So

he procured a New Testament, and began to read it, but found so many contradictions and even lies in the story that he was convinced of the narrative being of only human invention, and therefore not trustworthy, whenever it militates against the idea of God as revealed in the works of creation.

While occupied with these researches his troubles fell upon him, and his next opportunity for the study of Holy Writ was in the solitude and leisure of a prison.

An unprejudiced examination of Naundorff's memoirs leaves a strong impression of his extreme cunning, while suggesting a suspicion of his partial insanity; and it is often difficult to perceive where the cunning ends and the insanity begins.

For instance, this whole narrative of his religious conflicts in prison is evidently calculated to prepare the public mind for his later appearance as a religious reformer; and his statements respecting his former condition of forced ignorance are contradicted by facts.

Setting aside his career until 1810, he had had, previous to his imprisonment in 1824, fourteen years of adult life in Prussia wherein to learn the history and principles of the Christian religion. He had been a regular attendant at a Protestant church, and could have had access to religious literature of all kinds. As to his pretended adherence to the Catholic Church, that was never thought of until after his public *début* as the Lost Dauphin. He was married as a Protestant; if he had been desirous, he could have been married as a Catholic also; and he could have gone to mass every day of his life, if he had been so disposed. Later, he declared that, although apparently yielding allegiance to the Protestant faith, he had always remained true at heart to the religion of his infancy; which statement, if true, would tend to destroy all confidence in the integrity of his character.

His description of his mental processes in prison certainly savours of insanity.

Having read one day the account of Christ's ascension, he asked himself, "What is heaven, and how did Christ go up thither?"

Whereupon he took a piece of chalk, and began to cover the floor of his cell with calculations respecting the distance between earth and heaven, and the length of time required for the ascension; the result being the discovery that, as the Evangelists did not know what and where heaven was, their witness was not to be considered conclusive upon other points of the history.

Naundorff was evidently dominated by the fixed idea that he was the Dauphin; but whether the idea was fixed because he was determined to carry out a carefully laid plan, or because of irresponsible mental malady, cannot be determined. We often speak of a person having told lies so long that he believes them himself; and this judgment expresses a fact in human nature. Naundorff's story of his early life is its own refutation. It could not possibly be true. His later conduct shows invincible determination to carry on the deception; and his latest assumption as a ruler of men, through religious leadership, proves that inordinate ambition was the mainspring of his actions, while he never lost sight of the pecuniary advantages of the regal position to which he aspired.

Naundorff was liberated in 1828. In several places in his biography his sentence is mentioned as having been for three years; but in one account he says it was for four years, and that the last year was omitted by the Government, on the recommendation of Baron Seckendorf, Inspector-General of the House of Correction, who bore witness to Naundorff's good conduct as a prisoner. He was evidently much impressed by

Naundorff's appearance and behaviour, and at a later period he became a convert to the man's pretensions as rightful King of France.

Naundorff's next residence was at Crossen, a small town on the frontier of Silesia, whither he removed with his family, the terms of his pardon requiring him to leave Brandenburg without delay, and to keep away from Berlin. He was almost destitute on his arrival at Crossen ; but he soon found a friend in the mayor of the town, who, with a ready credulity which one would not expect in a man of his position, accepted Naundorff's account of himself without hesitation, and proceeded not only to minister to his material wants, but to encourage his ambitious hopes by writing letters in his behalf, which, coming from such a source, would be likely to receive attention. Naundorff, delighted with this unquestioning recognition, made a clean breast of his affairs, showed his private papers to good Mr. Petzold, whom he dubbed his *chargé d'affaires*, and entrusted to his care the letter written by the Duke de Berri, and one written by Louis XVIII. (then Count de Lille) in 1803 to the Duke d'Enghien, who had informed the Prince of Naundorff's existence.

These proofs being sufficient for Mr. Petzold, he wrote to the King of Prussia, advising him as to his duty under the circumstances, and to Charles X., threatening him that if he did not speedily render justice to the banished King, his conduct should be denounced in French newspapers, and the whole story given to the public. He wrote also to the Duchess d'Angoulême, and received through her secretary a reply, informing him that the Duchess had read his letter, and wished him to know that she would have nothing to do with the matter.

Naundorff comments upon this message by saying that what

she meant was that she was determined not to restore the fortune which belonged to him. This is another of the numerous instances which show that Naundorff was even more eager after the Dauphin's money than the Dauphin's rank. In 1830, he renewed his attempts at communication with royalty, but without any better success; and despatches sent to the exiled family at Holyrood remained unanswered. Undismayed by defeat, Mr. Petzold went to Berlin, and distributed among the ambassadors of the diplomatic corps a memorial written by Naundorff, wherein he exposed the persecutions inflicted upon him by his political enemies from the time of his incarceration in the Temple to his unjust punishment in Prussian prisons. Mr. Petzold also demanded of the Government the privilege of examining the records of the trial in Brandenburg, with the intention of exposing the wrongs endured by Naundorff in the course of that process.

The appeal to the ambassadors being of no avail, Petzold wrote to Louis Philippe, and after waiting several months for a reply, wrote again, saying that if the silence was not speedily broken he would make an appeal to the French Parliament. No answer came, and towards the end of 1831 Naundorff sent a petition to the Chambers, which also remained unnoticed.

Petzold tried next to interest the public in the subject, by writing short articles in the newspapers, one of which, published in the *Gazette of Leipzig*, was copied into *Le Constitutionnel* of Paris.

It announced that the Dauphin was living in Crossen, and occupied in writing memoirs, for which he wished to find a publisher, etc.

This notice attracted the attention of a French lawyer, M. Albouys, who wrote to Petzold for further information, and

received a long letter in reply, referring him to M. Thor de la Sonde for particulars respecting the evasion of the Dauphin, which was effected by one of that gentleman's friends, the event having been duly communicated to all the European sovereigns by M. Thor de la Sonde in 1818.

Petzold's letter had reference to a recent communication from Thor de la Sonde, wherein mention was made of a collection of papers which had come into his possession, and which seemed to establish the fact of the Dauphin's evasion.

Having seen the article in the *Leipzig Gazette* respecting Naundorff and his pretensions, he wrote to inquire whether Naundorff could give any explanation of the seal which was used in fastening up the said papers. The seal bore the names of "Hoche, Pichegru, Frotté, Josephine."

Naundorff's partisans bring forward his knowledge of the seal as a strong argument in favour of his identity. They say he answered Thor de la Sonde's question "in the most satisfactory manner." But the truth is, he did not answer it at all! Petzold says that his client *hesitated to give an explanation*; implying that he was wisely prudent about giving up important secrets. Later, the seal was given to Naundorff by Thor de la Sonde's widow; and then, of course, he could talk about it glibly enough.

Thor de la Sonde states in the same letter that in 1818 he informed the principal sovereigns of the Dauphin's evasion, as declared in the aforesaid papers, which would imply that he discovered the secret at that time, more than twenty years after the event! If he had assisted in the evasion of the Dauphin he would not have waited till 1818 to announce the fact to personages able and willing to enforce the young King's rights. His manner of expressing himself shows that

the news surprised him, and that he was greatly delighted to know the fact. He says,—

“I shall always say that he was rescued from the Temple by one of my friends.”

This sentence is extremely significant, as it implies that, after all, Thor de la Sonde did not know who had effected the escape, and that the papers he considered so valuable only served as proof that the Dauphin was carried out of the Temple alive. Moreover, there is not a word in the whole story which connects it with Naundorff, whose long accounts of Josephine and her confederates were written years after he had acquired this information from Thor de la Sonde, and had seen his widow, and, doubtless, had had access to all the material existing in the family archives.

Naundorff's habit of speaking of himself as the person meant whenever the Dauphin's affairs are in question, together with the frequent and necessarily intentional manipulation of unfavourable statements and acknowledged facts, render the study of the Naundorff literature exceedingly difficult. It requires much time and more patience to follow each assertion to its source; but the result repays the labour.

Besides Mr. Petzold, Naundorff made other friends in Crossen, among whom was Dr. Carl Gaebel, who, in 1836, wrote a letter to one of Naundorff's friends, in response to questions concerning his opinion of the man.

Dr. Gaebel's testimony was exceedingly friendly, and therefore whatever in it was damaging to Naundorff's character and claims has all the more weight.

He believed that Naundorff was the Dauphin, and ascribed his faults and shortcomings to his privations and misfortunes.

Dr. Gaebel found him skilful at his trade and possessed of inventive talent, but very ignorant as to science, history,

geography and religion. He wrote so badly that the good doctor instructed him in penmanship, and he knew so little French that Gaebel gave him a very easy book to translate, and afterwards lent him *Telemaque*. Gaebel said that Naundorff learned French rapidly; but no one would suppose from his command of German that he had not spoken it from infancy; and he knew no other language, excepting a little French.

And yet Naundorff was pretending at that time to be teaching his children himself (French and Latin, among other things), because he would not allow them to attend the public schools!

Now, it is well known that the Dauphin, previous to his degeneration in the Temple, was far advanced, for his age, in many branches of learning, and as Naundorff professed to have remained sound in mind and body during his imprisonment, there was no excuse for his ignorance upon the subjects enumerated.

As for religion, he announced himself a pagan, having no belief, and hating Christianity because of the wickedness of professing Christians. This was only a few months after his diligent and reverent study of the New Testament in prison, and his fervently expressed resignation to the will of God, who had "made all human beings for His own glory and their eternal happiness."

However, he let himself be persuaded anew by Dr. Gaebel, who fancied he perceived a great improvement in Naundorff's character after his conversion. Previous to that change Naundorff had often told lies, but from that time truth was sacred to him. ("*Auparavant il avait souvent joué de la vérité, mais à présent elle lui était sainte.*") And yet the alteration was not complete; for Gaebel added,—

“ His will was good ; but his suspicions often overcame his judgment, and made him sin against the sincerity of my friendship. However, I ask nothing of him ; I am very glad he is living, and I hope his misfortunes will soon be ended.”

Notwithstanding Gaebel's unquestioning belief in Naundorff's identity, he was sufficiently prudent to advise him to keep the matter a secret, for fear of arousing the animosity of Charles X., who, although in exile, had great influence in various directions.

Petzold was of the same opinion ; and Naundorff promised them both that he would not claim the title of French Prince so long as the Bourbons should continue to reside in Germany.

And yet, as soon as he possessed sufficient influence over Petzold, he broke that promise, and induced his protector to compromise himself by addressing the boldest challenges to the holders of supreme power.

Another friend of this period was Colonel Netter, formerly a staff-officer under Blücher.

Colonel Netter had been in France and had visited Versailles, and he found in Naundorff a willing listener to his adventures. Naundorff used to say that he enjoyed this opportunity of conversing in his “ mother-tongue ” ; and doubtless he picked up the “ little French ” he knew in such ways as this. He told Netter that he was born at Versailles, and that his parents had perished in the Revolution ; and he astonished Netter by asking him whether he had seen certain objects in certain parts of Versailles and the Tuileries, which objects (not mentioned in the book) had been removed during the Revolution and just after the death of Louis XVI., as Netter was informed on the spot, during his careful examination of those historic places.

Now, the fact of Naundorff having inquired about just those objects shows that Netter, on some other occasion, must have spoken of them, and then forgotten that he had done so.

Naundorff says also that Colonel Netter owned a number of engravings descriptive of the sufferings and execution of Louis XVI. On seeing those pictures, Naundorff, with tears in his eyes, demanded that they should be given up to him ; and on receiving them he carried them home and burned them, telling his wife that such pictures grieved him, and he should destroy in like manner whatever reminded him of the barbarities practised against the royal family of France.

If this story is true, it is of a piece with all of Naundorff's selfish conduct ; for Colonel Netter must have prized those engravings as an historical treasure, and Naundorff had no more right to appropriate them than any other part of Netter's belongings.

In the meantime Mr. Petzold was allowed to examine the papers relative to Naundorff's lawsuit, and had fully resolved to plead his cause before the King and his ministers.

One day Naundorff was visited in his shop by two strange gentlemen, who questioned him respecting his royal pretensions, but did not receive any satisfaction, Naundorff being suspicious of their design. After they had left, a neighbour informed Naundorff that they were no other than Prince Carolath and his private secretary, Baron von Senden ; whereupon Naundorff sent Petzold to their hotel to find out what it all meant. At first they denied having visited Naundorff, but on being pressed they acknowledged the fact, and then began to find fault with Petzold for his easy concurrence with the impostor, reminding him that his duty as a magistrate forbade his meddling with such matters. Petzold insisted that his *protégé* was the son of Louis XVI., and therefore it was his

duty as a man and a magistrate to defend him until he should be proved to be an impostor. His opponents then reminded him that there were fortresses in Prussia where people who did not know how to mind their own business were shut up.

Petzold retorted by declaring that he should soon request an audience of the King upon this subject, and Prince Carolath assured him that means would be employed to prevent the success of such an application.

If there is any truth in this story, it is mixed up with a large proportion of falsehood. Prince Carolath may have visited Naundorff out of curiosity; but there was no reason for denying the visit afterwards; and it is certain that Petzold, a petty magistrate, would never have ventured to follow an important public functionary like Prince Carolath to his hotel for the purpose of asking him what he meant. Also, if Prince Carolath went to Crossen expressly to reprove Petzold, he would have called upon him or sent for him, instead of finding fault with his conduct in the incidental way recorded by Naundorff.

Petzold, more than ever determined to follow his own course, and desirous of showing his contempt for Prince Carolath's advice and threats, took Naundorff with his wife and four children into his house, and maintained them at his own expense, Naundorff having shortly before this given up his watch-making business as inconsistent with his pretensions.

Whether he was a good watch-maker or not has never been clearly stated. He claimed to have learned the trade "for his own amusement," and Petzold asserted the same in his letters to influential personages. It is said that his business was not prosperous in Brandenburg, which fact lent weight to the suspicion that he had been tempted by pecuniary embarrassments to attempt the coining of false money; but he seems to

have possessed a natural aptitude in mechanical arts, and at least he had secured a livelihood for himself and his family. Surely, his most devoted partisans must allow that his character would appear in a better light if he had continued to earn his own living and provide for his increasing family, instead of throwing up work at the first dawn of a prospect of recognition as a royal Prince, and thenceforth till the day of his death subsisting upon the often scanty means of entire strangers, whose generosity was prompted solely by a false sentiment of loyalty, which blinded their judgment respecting the impostor, while rendering them forgetful of the claims of suffering members of their own families and of the poor of their own neighbourhood.

After Naundorff had enjoyed his ease for a whole year, it happened that Mr. Petzold was obliged to leave home on business. At his departure he assured Naundorff that immediately on his return he should go to Berlin, and stay there until he could succeed in obtaining an audience of the King.

But he came back sooner than he expected, on account of illness. He was seized with a dangerous internal inflammation, and was with difficulty restored to health through the skill of his physician. After his recovery he devoted himself almost exclusively to Naundorff's affairs, and the two friends were happy in the prospect of speedy success, when Mr. Petzold was suddenly taken ill, after drinking a cup of broth prepared by his housekeeper, and which he said was poisoned. After suffering great agony for nearly two days, he died—another victim, Naundorff declares, of a generous devotion to his royal person. Naundorff accuses Prince Carolath of having caused Petzold to be poisoned in order to prevent the threatened appeal to the King; and, to complete the connection, he gravely states that Petzold's death occurred just six months (to the

very day!) after he had sent Naundorff's petition to the French Chambers!

However, Naundorff's own account of the event goes to prove that Petzold's death was due to natural causes. He had only recently recovered from a dangerous internal disease, and the last attack was apparently only a necessary sequence of the previous inflammation.

Prince Carolath, as councillor of State, might well inquire into Naundorff's assertions, and warn a magistrate against official intervention, without intending any bodily harm to either party; furthermore, the Prince had no personal interest in preventing a royal audience; and if the King wished to suppress Mr. Petzold, he could do it by other means than murder. The absurdity of the coincidence between the time of Petzold's death and the date of the sending of the petition is at once apparent. Even if he had been killed for sending that paper, his assassins could not have been sure that the poison would do its work exactly at the date desired. And what connection was there between Naundorff's appeal to the French Chambers for the restoration of his title and Petzold's intended appeal to the King of Prussia for a reversal of the judgment in the matter of counterfeit money? And why did not the assassin poison Naundorff, instead of Petzold? There it is again! Naundorff was the KING, "the Lord's Anointed," whom his enemies dared not touch to harm; although any number of innocent subjects might perish for his sake!

Immediately after Petzold's death his papers (including the letters confided to him by Naundorff) were sealed up, and his business was entrusted to his chief clerk, who also knew about Naundorff's affairs, and who promised to continue the researches of his deceased chief. But four weeks later this man died suddenly, and Petzold's papers were seized, so that Naun-

dorff could never discover what became of his own precious deposit.

This part of the story is also obviously false. If Petzold's clerk was left in charge of the business, he must have had access to Petzold's official documents, and Naundorff could have claimed his own papers without difficulty. On the death of the clerk, who is also supposed to have fallen a victim to his friendship for Naundorff, the office must have been entrusted to some other official, and it is not the custom in Prussia nor anywhere else to *seize* the papers belonging to a regular department of government affairs. The seals could not have remained for ever, even upon Petzold's private belongings; and if he had any of Naundorff's personal property in his charge, Naundorff could have demanded and obtained it.

This story is evidently made up in order to account for the non-existence of the letter which he pretended to have received from the Duke de Berri, and the letter asserted to have been written by Louis XVIII. respecting the Duke d'Enghien's advocacy of Naundorff's claims.

Naundorff having lost his "*chargé d'affaires*" by death, he was obliged to write his own letters thenceforth, and he kept on addressing the King of Prussia, and signing his communications "*Louis Charles, Duc de Normandie.*" As it was in these days that Naundorff first used the Dauphin's name as it is known to history, this is as good a time as any for criticism of his conduct in that particular.

His earliest letters to the Duchess d'Angoulême, to Prince Hardenberg, and to various royal and noble personages were signed "*Charles Louis,*" and throughout his whole career as a pretender he generally adhered to that inverted designation. But when Petzold wrote letters in his behalf he used the correct name, and on several significant occasions Naundorff

took pains to sign himself "*Louis Charles*." It is most probable that he got the arrangement "*Charles Louis*" out of Weber's memoirs, which, being written in German, he was able to read, before he could examine French records of that period. Later he invented a romantic story to account for the mistake. He said that he was baptized "*Charles Louis*," and was called Charles until after the death of his elder brother, he being then four years old. One day he heard the Queen bemoaning the loss of her first-born, and the King, to comfort her, told her that the younger son should bear his departed brother's name. "The Dauphin shall always be Louis," he declared; and thereupon he caused the State records of the birth and baptism of the second Dauphin to be altered to suit this decree!

This remarkable fact, which nobody but the Dauphin knew, was kept by Naundorff as a precious secret wherewith to confound his enemies and convince the Duchess d'Angoulême when the trial of his cause should come before the public.

So ridiculous a statement is not worth consideration, and Naundorff's partisans wisely avoid discussing the question, contenting themselves with declaring the mistake in the name to be a "puerile objection."

It is not puerile at all.

The impostor Richemont uttered one truth among his many lies when, in reference to Naundorff's blunder, he remarked,—

"A man who claims a name ought at least to know what the name is; the Dauphin's name was Louis Charles, not Charles Louis."

Naundorff retorted that he had a satisfactory explanation for the change of name, which he would offer to the proper persons at the proper time; and later, not finding an oppor-

tunity to make the sensation he desired with the mysterious declaration, he confided it to print.

It is evident that the mistake was committed at first through ignorance, and afterwards persisted in through policy; it is also doubtless true that many persons were convinced by his effrontery, so that they failed to perceive the historical importance of his fatal error.

The Dauphin himself convicts Naundorff of imposture in this particular. In the papers signed by the Dauphin in the Temple, his name is written,—

“LOUIS CHARLE CAPET.”

It will be seen as the narrative proceeds on what occasions Naundorff saw fit to depart from his usual custom in this vital matter.

Petzold died in March, 1832, and in the summer of the same year Naundorff wrote letters to the King of Prussia and articles for the *Leipzig Gazette*, signed “*Louis-Charles*.”

He also prepared an account of his life and adventures, which he submitted to the censor, who forbade its publication, because, although manifestly a fable, it was calculated to make political trouble. This memoir, which must have been a short one, was afterwards published in a Leipzig paper, *La Comète*.

Naundorff wrote furthermore to Charles X., inviting him to come to Prussia and be reconciled to his long-lost nephew, and sent the letter under cover to the Duchess d’Angoulême.

It was not answered; but soon afterwards Naundorff received an anonymous communication from Berlin, informing him that the King of Prussia had been counselled by his ministers to arrest Naundorff and shut him up in a fortress, and if he wanted to escape such a fate he must be quick about it.

Accordingly, Naundorff fled the country. He applied to the police at Crossen for a foreign passport; but was told he could

obtain it only of the Government in Berlin. So he took one for Berlin under the name of "Charles-Louis, native of Versailles"; but, instead of going to Berlin, he went to Dresden, leaving his wife and children destitute, Mr. Petzold's assistance having ceased at his death, and his heirs not being able to do much towards the support of strangers.

The eldest daughter, a girl about thirteen years old, was the only person to whom Naundorff confided his plan, which was to go to Nantes and try to see the mother of the Duke de Bordeaux, the acknowledged heir of the Bourbons.

On arriving at Dresden he demanded an audience of the royal family of Saxony; but was ordered to quit the country, as he had no passport for a foreign land. He secured one through the intervention of an entire stranger; but he had no money for the journey, and none to pay his hotel expenses.

Here, again, he was assisted by an entire stranger, whom he met by accident, and who, on learning the route which Naundorff intended to take, urged him to call on his parents, who lived in Freiberg.

Resolving to obtain succour from these parents, Naundorff hired a carriage the next day, and left Dresden for Freiberg, where he was received as a friend by the hospitable pair, who, on his suggesting his pecuniary difficulties, opened their purse at once, and not only gave him the twenty-five crowns he asked for, but offered him more. Naundorff paid the coachman, and sent him back to Dresden with the money due to the hotel keeper, and then went on his way rejoicing until he heard at the Bavarian frontier that the French ambassador and his secretary had passed the boundary the previous night and had made inquiries concerning him. Suspecting some plot, he was glad to join a company of Polish officers, who were very friendly at first, but ended by robbing him of his

money and his Brandenburg certificate of citizenship, and accusing him of carrying false papers. The result was his temporary imprisonment; and after regaining his freedom he was obliged to continue his journey on foot and penniless. However, at Heilbronn he cured a man apparently at the point of death by the laying on of hands (that is, he rubbed the sufferer's body, especially the chest, gently with his hands, thereby restoring a healthy circulation and free respiration); and although he would not accept money for such a service, he consented to take a place in the carriage of one of the relatives of the rescued man, and in this way he crossed the French frontier in safety.

This whole story and his way of telling it imply that he possessed a miraculous power of healing, by virtue of his royal birth, like "touching for the king's evil" in ancient times.

On reaching Strasburg he proceeded to Nantes, announced his arrival to the Duchess de Berri, and received an appointment to a *rendez-vous*; but when he arrived at the designated place, he was met by a party of strangers, who forced him to accompany them to the diligence office, where they paid his fare and sent him back to Strasburg. Not having the necessary papers to enable him to face the police of Strasburg, he was in great embarrassment; but a stranger handed him secretly a permit, which gave him admittance into the city.

From thence he wrote to the Duchess de Berri, and sent the letter to a man whom he knew to be in her personal service. In reply came a note promising that the Duchess herself would write to him in twelve days from that date. This message convinced him that if the Duchess did not openly espouse his cause, it was because she was prevented by the influences surrounding her; consequently, when the twelve days passed

and no letter came, he was sure that her purpose had been frustrated by the party in favour of the heirship of her son.

Not feeling safe in Strasburg, Naundorff went on to Geneva, but was ordered by the officials to leave the canton within twenty-four hours. His next stopping-place was Berne, where he applied for protection to the Austrian consul, and sent through him a letter to the Duchess d'Angoulême at Prague.

Soon afterward Naundorff was arrested ; but was liberated after six hours, through the intervention of the Austrian ambassador, and sent over the frontier into France, the expenses of the journey having been defrayed by several benevolent strangers in Switzerland. He arrived in Paris May 26, 1833, having left his house in Crossen on one of the last days of July, 1832.

Naundorff's account of this journey is as apochryphal as is all the rest of that part of his career which depends upon his own testimony. He says that when he started he had only four crowns in his purse, and no luggage, excepting a walking stick and a bag containing a change of linen. He went directly to Dresden, and was notified to leave for lack of a suitable passport ; so he could not have stayed long there. From thence he travelled by carriage to Freiberg, a distance of only twenty-five miles, and remained in that town a few days. At the Bavarian frontier he was detained only for the examination of passports and for inspection by a quarantine officer, and he stopped one night at the village where he met the Polish refugees. The next day the journey was continued as far as Hof, and from thence Naundorff hired a carriage, which conveyed the whole party rapidly to Nuremberg. He does not mention the duration of the sojourn in Nuremberg ; but it could not have been long, for the officers were on their way to meet their comrades in Heilbronn. Naundorff was im-

prisoned in Heilbronn ; but he was soon set free, and after leaving that town he walked only one day before reaching the village where he cured the sick man, and where he rested several days. On leaving that place, he travelled by carriage to Strasburg, and departed at once for Nantes, from whence he was immediately sent back to Strasburg. He left Strasburg as soon as possible for safer quarters in Switzerland. He was obliged to leave Geneva within twenty-four hours, after being there only a short time (for the twelve days of waiting for the Duchess' letter had not yet expired) ; and soon after his arrival at Berne he was arrested and imprisoned for six hours, and then sent by carriage over the French frontier.

Judging from the circumstances he relates, he could not have been a month on the way, and yet more than nine months elapsed between the date of his departure from Crossen and that of his arrival in Paris ! It is plain that whatever may have been his adventures, and wherever he may have passed the time, he does not tell the truth in his narrative ; while he observes entire silence as to the most important question—namely, where was he and what was he doing all those eight months or more which elapsed between his arrival on French soil and his acknowledged appearance in Paris ?

The incidents of his journey, also, are highly improbable. Being notified by the Dresden police to leave Saxony because he had no passport which was valid outside of Prussia, a stranger came to his assistance, took the passport to the French embassy, and bullied the ambassador, and cheated the ambassador's secretary into giving him the necessary credentials for entry into France—an extremely unlikely story, especially as the passport did not describe the applicant. If half of Naundorff's assertions respecting his experiences with

police officials be true, the whole police system is a gigantic fraud and ought to be abolished.

The adventure at the hotel is another improbable episode. That an entire stranger having mistaken the identity of a person casually encountered on the stairs should not only strike up a warm friendship with the unknown on the spot, but actually pass him on to relatives living at a distance, is almost too simple a performance for even the greenest traveller, and the excessive hospitality and imprudent generosity of those tender-hearted parents is still more astonishing, although their conduct is somewhat explainable, through Naundorff's revelation of his own method of procedure. The morning after his arrival at their house (it was a parsonage, and the host was the Protestant pastor of the village), Naundorff being greatly worried in his mind concerning his lack of funds for the prosecuting of his journey, addressed himself to prayer, and, falling on his knees in his chamber, besought the aid of Heaven with many sighs and much loud weeping. His pious invocation was overheard by the devout pastor and his benevolent spouse; their hearts warmed with religious sympathy, and they awaited only the end of that sacred appeal to bestow a visible answer to prayer in the form of a well-filled purse.

In another account of the journey this incident is omitted, the family having received him as though he were an old friend, and shown such warm interest from the first as to embolden him to make known his wants without hesitation; all of which is still more absurd. The story of the secret prayer rewarded openly is probably the true explanation of that episode, while it is in full accordance with Naundorff's earlier and later use of religious professions as a means of worldly profit. In Spandau he had outwardly conformed to

the practices of the Protestant confession while secretly faithful to what he calls the Church of his infancy. In the prison of Brandenburg he had imposed upon his jailers by his Bible reading and his pious meditations, and a few months after his liberation had avowed his general unbelief in the doctrines of Christianity, and professed ignorance of the New Testament story, allowing himself to be gradually convinced and converted by the zealous ministrations of a new acquaintance, whose favour he wished to gain. His next religious exploit was the noisy entering into his closet in the parsonage of Freiberg; and there are revelations of the same nature still to come, sufficient to prove that Naundorff, in this respect, as in every other, was a consummate hypocrite. His conduct also with regard to the money thus "providentially" furnished was just what might be expected of an adventurer. Instead of carefully husbanding the funds, in anticipation of the long journey still before him, or sending a portion of his good fortune to his helpless family at home, he paid the expenses of a fellow traveller as long as their way was the same, and afterwards allowed himself to be flattered and fleeced out of what was left by a party of lawless Polish officers, with whom he had struck up a most imprudent comradeship. Of course these traits of character have nothing to do with the question of identity; but they are significant in relation to the disposition required for conceiving and sustaining an impudent imposture.

There was evidently some jugglery practised in the matter of Naundorff's passport. He says nothing further about the pass obtained with so much difficulty, through a stranger, from the French ambassador, although such a paper ought to have carried him to France without further trouble; but he speaks of his Brandenburg certificate of citizenship, which,

he says was stolen from him and thrown down the vault of the privy by one of his Polish companions, who denounced him to the police as the bearer of a false passport, thus causing his arrest and temporary imprisonment at Heilbronn. This man declared that it was Naundorff himself who threw compromising papers down the privy vault; and certainly there was no reason why a stranger should steal and destroy so insignificant a document as Naundorff's certificate of citizenship as a watch-maker of Brandenburg.

Meantime, in Crossen, his wife gave birth to another son, the fifth child; and the whole family, huddled together in one room, existed in the most abject poverty, their only dependence being upon the scanty wages earned by the mother in sewing, and the occasional help afforded by the eldest daughter, who ran errands for the neighbours, and received out of pity more than the usual compensation for such labour.

Naundorff gives the date of May 26th, 1833, as the time of his arrival in Paris, without mentioning where he spent the period, consisting of eight months or more, which must have elapsed between the departure from Switzerland and the beginning of his acknowledged career in Paris. He says in one place that a young Swiss girl, daughter of his host in Berne, accompanied him to France, being moved to this step by her entire devotion to his person; and she was with him for a time in Paris, but what finally became of the young woman we are not told.

Naundorff's first known residence in the French capital was the Hôtel d'Orleans, Rue d'Orleans, No. 15; but having no money to pay his expenses, he was turned out of the house after a few days. While staying in this hotel, he wrote to M. Albouys de Cahors (the same gentleman who had corresponded with Mr. Petzold), informed him of his arrival in

France, and besought him to come to his aid, either personally or by letters of introduction to residents of Paris, through whom he hoped to discover some of the former servants of the royal family, if any were still in existence. M. Albouys, not supposing it possible that Naundorff could have left Prussia so suddenly, suspected a trick, and therefore sent to the given address a letter for M. Gisquet, the chief of police, at the same time writing to his sister-in-law, Madame Albouys, to go to the Hôtel d'Orleans and see whether the stranger was genuine or not. Naundorff, discovering M. Gisquet's official position, did not deliver the letter; and after his expulsion from the hotel, he wandered about the streets, sleeping out of doors, and subsisting upon fruits stolen from gardens outside the city, until one day he was guided by a child (who afterwards mysteriously disappeared) to a small inn, where he was warmly welcomed and allowed to enjoy bed and board without money and without price for more than a fortnight, during which time he haunted the vicinity of the royal palaces, and went several times to Versailles to see whether he could find any of the old family servants, but without success. His position became every day more embarrassing. His host, being a poor man, could not be expected to go on for ever providing subsistence without pay; and where to turn he did not know. Just then Madame Albouys with her husband and a friend appeared upon the scene, and paid Naundorff's bills and carried him to their home. From these new friends Naundorff learned that a Madame Rambaud, formerly a chambermaid in the Dauphin's service (from the time of his birth till his imprisonment in the Temple), was still living; also a M. and Madame de St. Hilaire, at one time in the service of the royal family. And these persons were summoned without delay to an interview

with the stranger, who succeeded without difficulty in satisfying their credulity and securing their allegiance.

Naundorff's recognition and acceptance by these persons is considered by his partisans as one of their strongest arguments in favour of his pretensions; but a closer examination betrays the emptiness of such testimony.

In the first place, Naundorff had no recollection of these persons. He evidently did not know their names nor their attributes until informed about them, before he saw them, by his too credulous entertainers.

If his memory was so remarkable that he could recall the names of the commissioners who rode in the carriage behind his own during the return from Varennes, and could narrate a host of circumstances too insignificant for notice even at the time of their occurrence, he could surely recollect the name of a servant who was at work daily in his chamber from the time of his birth till he left the palace, when nearly seven years old.

Yet we see how cunningly he set to work to hunt up people of that class, who would naturally be more easy to convince and attach than persons of higher rank and better knowledge of the world.

For weeks he spied around Paris and Versailles, looking for his father's old servants, but never mentioning the name of one of them; whereas, if he had ever heard of Madame Rambaud or M. de St. Hilaire, he needed only to look in the Paris directory to discover their whereabouts. Naundorff is extremely glib in rattling off the list of persons mentioned in the history of that period, but beyond that he is entirely at a loss.

Accordingly, at that first interview he spoke fluently about the King and Queen, Madame Elizabeth, the Duchess d'An-

goulême, the Counts de Provence and d'Artois, and various ladies of the court, and related many anecdotes unknown to historians respecting these exalted personages. Madame Rambaud was deeply impressed by his confidences and by the readiness of his answers to the questions she put to him. At last she said,—

“If you are the Dauphin, which I can no longer doubt, you must have marks of vaccination on your arms.”

“I don't know anything about that,” replied the Prince.

Whereupon Madame Rambaud rejoined,—

“Of course you could not know about it, because you were so young, and because, by order of the Queen, the operation was performed when you were asleep.”

Then Naundorff took off his coat and bared his arms, and, behold! there were the two scars exactly where and as they ought to be!

As a final test, Madame Rambaud produced a little blue silk dress, and asked him whether he remembered the occasion when he had worn it at the Tuileries, and he immediately answered,—

“I wore that dress only once, and that was at Versailles, on such a day, and on such an occasion. I even remember that it was very tight and hindered my movements.”

This declaration removed all doubts, and Madame Rambaud, acknowledging the exactitude of Naundorff's assertions, became thenceforth his devoted partisan.

Many other persons, on hearing or reading of the episode of the blue silk dress, have been convinced of Naundorff's identity, when in reality that incident is wholly worthless as proof.

In the first place, the Dauphin's chambermaid would not have been likely to know much about the child's dresses,

when and where he wore a certain robe, and whether it fitted him. The heir to the throne of France was surrounded by a multitude of servitors, and the persons who attended to his wardrobe were far above the rank of chambermaid. And even if she had happened to see him thus attired, she could not have followed him into the noble company and heard him complain that his frock was too tight. For that matter, it would have been more satisfactory if the record had given a full description of the day and occasion alluded to, instead of saying, "on such a day and on such an occasion." It is possible that in the wreck of the royal property the chambermaid may have secured a garment belonging to the Dauphin; but it is not possible that a child of that age, always richly dressed and possessing a great variety of costumes, should have taken so much notice of that particular coat as to remember it through all the horrors of the Revolution and the vicissitudes of the ensuing years; still less that he should be able to recall the day and the occasion, and insist that it was at Versailles, and not at the Tuileries, that his coat pinched him.

In one version of the story Madame Rambaud declared that the dress was worn at the Tuileries, and Naundorff, quick as thought, contradicted her, and said, "No; it was at Versailles."

In another version she is made to mention the Tuileries merely as a test of Naundorff's genuineness, she knowing all the while that the scene was Versailles.

The whole story is a miserable display of blind credulity on one side and of trained cunning on the other. Of course, the moment Naundorff laid eyes on that little blue silk robe in Madame Rambaud's hands, he knew what it meant and what was expected of him, and he knew too that a simple assent to her suggestion would not go half so far to convince her as

would a bold contradiction, and a rapid narration of petty details illustrative of the event as it lay in his memory. If there were really any associations connected with the dress in Madame Rambaud's mind, she had doubtless told them earlier to her friends, and Naundorff may have heard the story in that way.

The lack of sagacity displayed by Naundorff's followers from the beginning would be incomprehensible if there were not so many other instances on record of similar conduct under similar circumstances. Thus, when Naundorff first met the ex-chambermaid in the Albouys parlour, he went up to her, and said,—

“You must be Madame Rambaud”! and that instant recognition was hailed by the bystanders as a striking proof of the stranger's identity; those simple people having apparently forgotten that Naundorff never mentioned her name when inquiring for the royal servants, and only learned of her existence through their own recent communications, while he was aware that they intended to bring about the meeting as speedily as possible. His conduct on this occasion, as on every other, fully justified the Duchess d'Angoulême's decision :

“He is an impostor; but a very skilful one!”

Another instance of deceit during this interview was Naundorff's behaviour respecting the marks of vaccination. Nobody can have such marks on his arms without knowing it; and besides, the papers of which he makes so frequent mention were said to contain a full description of that operation. Why then did he say, “*I don't know,*” when questioned by Madame Rambaud? It was to make the discovery the more striking to her, and to remove any suspicion of his having been vaccinated at a later period, in order to be able to show those signs of identity.

Madame Rambaud and another witness of the interview, M. Geoffrey, formerly in the service of Charles X., being satisfied with their examination, M. and Madame de St. Hilaire next interviewed the stranger, and put him through a course of questioning, which he sustained without betraying himself; so that they too were fully convinced, and advertised "the Prince" among their acquaintances as worthy of confidence, and in a situation to demand not only their sympathy, but their material help. Accordingly, converts multiplied and contributions poured in. Naundorff lived at his ease with those first-found friends, and regaled them every day with new items of his early recollections and later adventures, while he astonished his believing followers on occasion by his minute knowledge of the rooms and former furniture of the royal palaces, describing those buildings outside and inside with such exactitude as to bring back to M. de St. Hilaire many details which had been entirely effaced from his memory.

For instance: being in the Queen's apartments at Trianon, which had been much changed since her day, Naundorff refurnished them throughout as they were in 1789, telling just where each piece stood and how his mother was wont to be occupied in those rooms.

In another part of the house he ordered a closed door to be opened, saying beforehand that it led into a billiard room, and describing in what directions the different windows looked. The guide declared that the door had remained closed for forty years, and he too was convinced that the stranger must be the Dauphin.

All this sounds remarkable at first; but on closer examination there is nothing in it.

The details respecting the former condition of the palaces which astonished M. de St. Hilaire had been entirely for-

gotten by him, therefore he could not be a strict judge as to the accuracy of Naundorff's statements.

In refurnishing the Queen's rooms, it was impossible to contradict his disposition of each chair and table, for no other person claimed to know anything about the matter. The absurdity of his pretension is evident when it is remembered that in 1789 the Dauphin was only four years old, and at that age would not have been likely to take observations on furniture which should retain their force through half a century. Similarly, with regard to the door opening into the billiard room. Even if he knew the location, he could not know the points of view from the several windows.

It is to be considered that Naundorff was alone for weeks in Paris before being discovered by his friends; and most probably he was there during the nearly nine months of which there is no record in his memoirs. He would naturally spend as much time as possible in the place best adapted to the study of his *rôle*, and the fact that he made no manifestation during that long period is presumptive evidence that he did not wish to be disturbed in his pursuits. His previous conversations with Col. Netter, in Crossen, respecting the royal palaces, had furnished him with many details, and he doubtless kept his eyes and ears constantly open upon the subject from the time of his arrival in France. Even according to his own account, he went more than once to Versailles, which was then, as it is now, a show-place for all the world. No doubt he crammed himself well with details in palace and park, and picked up many a crumb of information from servants and guides belonging to the premises. How easy, for instance, would it have been to inquire about the closed door, and to learn that it opened upon a billiard room; after which a tour outside of the building would have given him a much better idea of the

view from the windows than the Dauphin at four years of age would have been able to receive.

Any one desirous of understanding the construction of Versailles, or Trianon, or the Tuileries, or the Temple, could easily obtain access to books of description and elaborate engravings and architectural plans, and such sources were probably thoroughly investigated by Naundorff.

The suspicion that Naundorff spent a number of months in Paris before making his presence known to M. Albouys is strengthened by his casual mention of having been accompanied in one of his early visits to Versailles and Trianon by the eldest daughter of Mr. Roth, who from devotion had accompanied him from Berne to Paris, and with whom he spoke German on this occasion.

Now these two persons must have had visible means of support other than "devotion" on her part and "stolen fruit" on his; the inference, therefore, is unavoidable that during this period of silence as to his whereabouts he was living with a young girl in Paris, either upon her money or his own, while his wife and five children were starving in Germany.

Another person who knew the Dauphin in his infancy, Pauline de Tourzel, daughter of the former governess of the royal children, was living in Paris during Naundorff's residence there, and Naundorff gained many disciples by mentioning her name and expressing great eagerness to see again his early playmate. But Madame de Tourzel and her daughter were spoken of in the records of the Revolution, hence Naundorff could easily know their names; and the lady herself, become Countess de Bearn, and attached to the Court of Louis Philippe, would have nothing to do with the affair.

Madame Rambaud and M. and Madame de St. Hilaire

wrote gushing letters to the Duchess d'Angoulême, advocating Naundorff's claims, and declaring their belief in him in the most solemn manner ; but the Duchess made no reply.

Naundorff also wrote several letters to the Duchess ; but in vain. In the meantime, his pretensions began to be talked about in Paris, and Viscount Sosthene de Larochevoucauld, a courtier in high esteem under Louis XVIII., and devoted to the interests of the Bourbons, wrote to Prince Augustus of Prussia to inquire whether it was true that a man named Naundorff, and pretending to be the Dauphin, escaped from the Temple, had lived a long time in Prussia, and received the right of citizenship, and made his existence known to all the European sovereigns and their ministers, and especially to Prince Augustus. In a short time the Viscount received a note from Prince Augustus, in which he denied any knowledge of the person mentioned.

Naundorff's earliest converts in Paris were not only intense Royalists of the " Legitimist " party ; they were also devoted Catholics, and as credulous in religion as in politics. Hence they saw the necessity of invoking supernatural aid for the more rapid promulgation of the new cult ; and, fortunately, the desired agent was easy to summon, and sure to obey the call.

Accordingly, Martin, the peasant-prophet, was introduced upon the scene of intrigue, and thenceforth played an important part in the short-lived comedy. Martin was already well known in France, having first become conspicuous through his supposed celestial revelations in 1816. He was an ignorant peasant, living near the country town of Gallardon ; where, in the open fields, he was wont to be visited by an angel messenger, and in the house was instructed by a mysterious Voice, all for the purpose of giving warning and

advice concerning things political to the ruling spirits in the government of France. Besides his public prognostications, which savoured strongly of oracular generalities, he was believed to have made a private appeal to Louis XVIII., telling him to his face that he was a usurper, and commanding him to descend from the throne and restore it to the rightful heir, who, as he well knew, was still alive.

After that momentous visit to the King, he returned to his distant village and to his former pastoral occupations. But in 1821 the angel of his vision made his presence manifest again, this time only by the Voice, and sounded a new warning under the form of an allegory, the meaning of which seemed to be that the prospects of the young Duke of Bordeaux were soon to be destroyed by a great political event.

A little later he foretold the Revolution of 1830, declaring that the Bourbons would be destroyed, and France for a time divided into three parties: Republican, Bourbon, and Orleans. After a horrible struggle between themselves, peace and happiness would be restored to France through the veritable son of Louis XVI., who would be universally recognised as the lawful King, although his sister would be the last one to acknowledge him, and until her concession would bitterly oppose his sovereignty. This declaration respecting the Duchess d'Angoulême rests upon Gruau's testimony alone, and reads like an interpolation.

After the Revolution of 1830, Martin announced the speedy coming of the rightful King, who had been concealed from the world for forty years. The "Voice" told Martin that the Prince was hidden in Germany, and commanded him to hide himself for forty weeks, figuring thereby the forty years' exile of the Prince. The statement that Martin declared the Prince to have been hidden in Germany forty years rests upon Gruau's

authority alone ; indeed, everything related of Martin from the time of his recognition of Naundorff shows that either he was completely under the control of Naundorff's party, or else that they made up the story to suit their purposes. The latter theory seems to be upheld by some circumstances ; for instance, if Martin said that the Prince would come from Germany, and would soon present himself in France, why did he at first warn the Legitimists against Naundorff as an impostor, and refuse to believe the proofs which had convinced his friends ?

August 27th, 1831, the Voice said to Martin : "*Servire Deo, regnare est*"; and as Martin did not understand Latin, he went to the parish priest for enlightenment.

Naundorff's biographer states, as a supernatural coincidence, that on that very same day several French journals copied the articles of the *Leipzig Gazette* announcing the existence of the son of Louis XVI. at Crossen. Mr. Gruau also interprets the angelic message : "*Servire Deo, est regnare,*" as meaning that "the Prince, like Jesus Christ," was not to govern a terrestrial kingdom ; his mission was to give the world a renewal of the primitive evangel through the sublime teaching of his "*Doctrine celeste,*" source of prosperity for all peoples as soon as the oppressors of humanity shall no longer have power to arrest its beneficent course. Another remarkable coincidence, according to Gruau, was the fact that May 26th, 1833, the day of Naundorff's arrival in Paris, was also the last day of a *neuvaine* (nine days' prayer) commanded by Martin by way of preparation for the coming of the expected Prince. Now, Madame de St. Hilaire was an enthusiastic disciple of Martin, and believed heartily in his revelations, which he was in the habit of communicating to her as soon as he received them. This lady, although fully convinced that Naundorff was the

Dauphin, wished to satisfy her conscience by obtaining Martin's authority for her confidence in the stranger, and so she wrote to him on the subject. His first reply (dated August 21st, 1833) was oracular. He reminded her that he had often warned her against impostors, and he suggested that this person might be a tool in the hands of the Republicans to compromise the Royalists. The true Prince was to appear at a crisis involving great bloodshed; therefore they must await God's will.

September 4th, 1833, Martin wrote again to the lady that the time was nigh, because something had occurred which he could not mention in a letter. He did not know how to fulfil the commands laid upon him by the Voice; in any case it was necessary that the legitimate ruler should be recognised, and therefore he concluded that the crisis must soon arrive.

He appointed another *neuvaine* during the octave of the Nativity of the Virgin. A certain priest named Appert, already a partisan of Naundorff, asked Martin's opinion respecting the person described to him, and the reply was unfavourable. However, just before the end of the *neuvaine*, Martin's convictions underwent a change: the Voice ordered him to go to Paris, and gave him instructions for the recognition of the veritable son of Louis XVI. He told his parish priest that he had received a revelation, and had been informed of certain corporal marks by which he could distinguish the Prince. Accordingly, he went to Paris; and the interview and the recognition took place September 28th, 1833, at the house of Madame Albuys, several witnesses being present.

Naundorff was asleep in his room when Martin arrived, and the prophet was asked to wait until the royal nap was finished; but he, impatient to contemplate the features of the august personage, whose existence was so visibly providential, and

whose destiny was so closely allied to the well-being of humanity, insisted upon going directly to Naundorff's chamber.

The opening of the door aroused the sleeper, who, seeing before him a stranger in peasant costume, exclaimed at once, "Good-day, Martin!" Martin returned the salutation; and immediately asked to see a scar which the angel had told him he would find on the Prince's chin, the wound having been inflicted by Simon during the Dauphin's imprisonment in the Temple.

One would suppose that a sight of the sign of the Holy Spirit on Naundorff's thigh would have been more in keeping with the angelic instruction, especially as many persons have a scar on the chin without there being a Simon behind the misfortune. However, the august chin was offered for inspection, and Martin was entirely satisfied with the result of his scrutiny. He remained in secret conversation with Naundorff for about an hour; and when the two appeared among their waiting friends, the traces of tears were upon both faces, although Martin's brow was radiant, and his countenance glowed with superhuman gladness as he announced,—

"This is indeed he, and beside him there is no other."

After which declaration these "chosen servants of God" took leave of one another.

On his return home Martin gave Priest Appert a full account of the interview, and said that the Prince had told him many things which were already known by revelation to the prophet; also, Naundorff had at once called him by name, because he recognised in him a good Genius who had often appeared to him in dreams to console him in times of great trouble. Naundorff said that the Genius who visited him resembled Martin, excepting that his hair was white, instead of black. And soon afterwards Martin's raven locks were miraculously changed to

a snowy whiteness ! Martin added that it was evidently God's purpose to fulfil great designs through the son of Louis XVI., and to this end the Prince was favoured with supernatural illuminations.

But Martin did not confine his discovery to this sympathizing priest. On the contrary, he diligently spread the news abroad, thereby rendering himself obnoxious to the large body of Royalists who, while believing in the continued existence of Louis XVII., were not willing to accept Naundorff in that capacity.

It seems that during the secret conference in Naundorff's chamber a pilgrimage to *Notre Dame de Chartres* had been projected "in action of grace" (according to the technical Catholic expression); and on the announcement of this plan, a certain Countess, whose country seat was near that famous chapel, offered the use of her house to "the Prince" and the prophet. Martin got there first, and was received with due honour; but when Naundorff arrived he found the door closed against him; and in answer to Martin's expostulations, the Countess and her friends said that this man was not the genuine one: the real Prince would not be married, and the Duke de Bordeaux was evidently the rightful King. Martin replied that the angel had never mentioned the Duke to him; whereupon the noble ladies declared that the Duchess de Berri, before the birth of the Duke de Bordeaux, had seen a vision, and had been told that she would bring forth a son. Martin retorted that nobody had ever told her that the Prince would become King. And then followed a terrible scene of quarrelling, which lasted a long time. When it was over, Martin went away; and on being afterwards urged to return, paid no heed to the invitation.

The next thing to be done was to convert Naundorff into a

good Catholic. We are told by his biographer that he had never made his first communion, his long imprisonment and his forced residence in Protestant countries not having allowed him an opportunity to prepare himself for that solemn ceremony.

This statement is obviously false; at least, as regards his stay of more than twenty years in Germany, where there is scarcely a town of any size without a Catholic Church, while in Berlin there was at that time a large French colony, abundantly supplied with means of grace after its own fashion. St. Hedwig's Church, one of the most conspicuous religious edifices in the whole city, was standing then exactly where it stands to-day, not very far from Schützen Strasse, where Naundorff had his abode; and there was no reason why he should not have been a faithful attendant upon Catholic services all those years if he had been so disposed. Naundorff's success as an impostor, so far as it went, was largely due to the general ignorance of the French people of any country but their own. If Naundorff's partisans had been better informed respecting the outside world, they would have known that Naundorff's inability to speak French was a fatal objection, and that his pretence of having been forced to live as a Protestant in Germany was absurd. However, his blind adherents accepted the excuse in good faith, and Mr. Appert, the priest of St. Arnoult, became Naundorff's confessor, and instructed him duly for an intelligent reception of the sacred rite.

It was a delicate business to undertake, for the priest was obliged to work in secret, not daring to let the Bishop of Versailles know that Naundorff desired confirmation. But Mr. Appert was consoled in his perplexity by a message from Martin, who was supposed not to be aware of what was going on, and to whom the Voice uttered a command that the per-

sonage must hasten to fulfil his intention, after which he would receive new graces. Accordingly, Mr. Appert informed the Bishop that there was among his penitents an aged man who wished to be confirmed; and at the appointed time Naundorff, accompanied by a young man, son of one of his warmest feminine partisans, presented himself before the Bishop, who appeared to be strangely confused, and in his embarrassment confirmed Naundorff's companion twice before he could be made to perceive his error.

At last Naundorff received the coveted benediction; but the deception was soon discovered, and the Bishop denounced Naundorff before the Mayor of Versailles. The priest also fell into disgrace, and was obliged to leave his parish in consequence of the part he had played in the game. He then devoted himself entirely to Naundorff, and became his confessor and trusted counsellor during several ensuing years.

Prince Hohenlohe (then in Paris), whose reputation as a saint was very high among Catholics, was consulted on the subject of Naundorff's claims, the opposing party being in hopes that he would side against Martin. But the Voice told the prophet that Hohenlohe had answered the temptation by ordering his interlocutors to act according to Martin's commands. Naundorff having formed a plan for the education of his children, wrote secretly to have his eldest daughter sent to France, where a certain convent of nuns was ready to receive her. But Martin, having been informed by the Voice of Naundorff's proceedings, came from his country home in great haste to forbid the step, for the reason that Naundorff's children would not be safe in France; therefore it would be better to send them to some Catholic canton in Switzerland, near the French frontier, where they could be properly trained in the principles and practice of the true religion. Naundorff says

that at that period he had no faith in the Voice; but he obeyed instructions, for fear of alienating Martin's friends, by whom he was mainly supported, Martin having stirred up his own followers to contribute generously from their small means for the benefit of the supposed Prince.

December 19, 1833, a miraculous event took place in Naundorff's chamber during the night. The particulars are not given; but it had something to do with a burning candle, which offered convincing proof that God was busy with Naundorff's affairs.

December 27, 1833, the Voice foretold to Martin that great troubles were soon to fall upon the Prince, and that most of his friends would desert him.

January 1, 1834, the Voice ordered a *neuvaine* at Chartres.

The denunciation of Naundorff by the Bishop of Versailles created, of course, a great sensation, the effect of which Martin tried to combat by declaring that the Voice had pronounced the Bishop guilty of a grievous sin by that action.

February 5, 1834, another *neuvaine* was commanded, during which certain canticles and psalms were to be recited, prophetic of the speedy coming of a desired ruler and the certain destruction of his enemies.

February 16, 1834, a miracle took place in Martin's sleeping chamber, his candle having been lighted by unknown hands, in order that he might be ready for the early mass.

March 17, 1834, Martin received notice to begin another *neuvaine*, during which still more suggestive psalms and canticles should be recited, and many prayers said for the illumination of a Prince who must pass through various tribulations before attaining success.

Great disasters were prophesied, and it was declared that the usurping royal family would be responsible for all

these evils, and also for those which should afterwards arrive.

March 29, 1834, Martin being at prayer in the cathedral of Chartres, the Voice told him that Heaven was angry on account of what was passing in that region of the earth, and added a command to Naundorff not to renounce his own rights in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux.

During this *neuvaine* Martin was tormented by another voice, which he believed to be that of the devil, and which urged him to retract his declarations in Naundorff's behalf, and to acknowledge that he had been deceived.

This he refused to do ; and the demon continued to bewitch him as long as he remained at Chartres.

After returning to Gallardon he received an order for another *neuvaine* at Chartres, commencing April 12, 1834 ; this being the last which would be required, as the condition of things indicated a speedy crisis in political affairs.

Martin's conflicts with the demon began again as soon as he was established in the house of the Countess, who had always entertained him at Chartres, and where alone he was haunted by that harassing voice. This time his sufferings were intense, his spiritual agony, great as it was, being overpowered by bodily pain, which increased to such a degree as to result in his death during the night of May 8, 1834.

Naundorff's party attributed Martin's illness to poison, and his sudden decease to suffocation and violence, and did not hesitate to accuse the Countess and her followers of the crime ; but these denunciations were not listened to, although the body was disinterred and examined by a committee of physicians, who reported that its condition presented signs of poison and of suffocation.

The death of Martin was followed by his miraculous ap-

pearance to Naundorff, which is related at great length in the memoirs, his biographer declaring that God justified His elected one through this new manifestation of His almighty power.

The Prince, he says, had a celestial mission to perform, and it was important that he should be convinced of the Divine authority of Martin, which he had previously been inclined to doubt.

The death of the prophet caused an immense amount of gossip, and among the bitter charges of his partisans it is impossible to determine whether their suspicions were well founded.

The description of his symptoms apply equally well to violent inflammation resulting from a sudden cold, or from poison. The appearance of the body after death might be due either to rapid decomposition or to strangling.

Naundorff's assertion of the information imparted by Martin's ghost is the only authority for the accusation of murder by slow poison and sudden suffocation, and the character and position of the family which sheltered the fanatic rendered it improbable that such a crime would be enacted within their walls. Martin returned to that house again and again after Naundorff's exclusion from its hospitality, and he seemed to receive proper attention during his illness ; for he says himself that, owing to his excessive sweating, his linen was changed every day. It is very likely that the family did not know how ill he was ; they knew him to be a visionary, and his complaints were mostly of spiritual distress caused by the torments inflicted by the demon. They were accused of having refused to call a doctor, although one was staying in the house ; and the physician who saw him later blamed his attendants for the delay. It is possible that he was neglected ; it is possible that the voice

of the "demon," which was heard only in that house, was a device of some member of the family to influence the prophet in favour of the Duke de Bordeaux, and against Naundorff; it is even possible that Martin was murdered by his entertainers in order to rid their own party of a powerful opponent. They were all narrow-minded, superstitious, and tricky together, demoralized by the recent Revolution, and strongly bent on carrying out their separate political ends; but certainly Naundorff's prejudiced account of Martin's last days is not to be trusted as reliable testimony.

After the denunciation of Naundorff by the Bishop of Versailles he was watched closely by the police; so that he thought best to seek refuge with Madame Rambaud, and go out only at night.

Madame Rambaud, who had never believed in Martin's Divine mission, ventured to reprove her "Prince" for his credulity with regard to supernatural affairs, and to give him sound advice against seeking further help from such sources, reminding him that if he had not followed Martin's counsel in the matter of confirmation he would not have been denounced by the Bishop of Versailles.

Priest Appert became acquainted with Naundorff in 1833, and, taking a practical view of the situation, he at once inquired into the stranger's financial circumstances. On finding that Naundorff possessed only three hundred francs, he offered him one thousand on the spot, six hundred being spent in repaying the expenses of Madame Albouys, who had come to Paris expressly on Naundorff's account, and for other debts incurred since Naundorff's arrival.

Then there was Naundorff's family to be provided for in Crossen. For five months they had been living in great distress, deprived of their furniture, reduced to ragged clothing,

and with nothing but potatoes for food. Charles X. having on one occasion passed through Crossen, they took advantage of his presence to offer a petition to him; but no attention was given to the document, and the deserted family remained as poor as before.

It was plain that something must be done for their relief. Naundorff's new friends were not rich, and they made great sacrifices for their supposed King. The wealthy nobles of the Legitimist party did not espouse his cause, being devoted to the exiled Bourbons in Prague, and recognising the Duke de Bordeaux as the rightful heir to the throne, under the title of Henri V.

Naundorff declares that the high nobility and the clergy offered to acknowledge him on condition of his separating himself from his wife, and repudiating his children, a proposition which he rejected with scorn; but there is no evidence for the truth of this improbable assertion.

The converts in Paris having collected the sum of eight hundred francs for the abandoned family, M. Albuys was deputed to carry the money to Crossen, and bring back important papers concerning Naundorff's identity; but not being able to obtain a passport, on account of political troubles, which threatened war, his sister-in-law went in his stead, and proved to be a very incompetent agent. She travelled in an expensive manner, used up the money which ought to have been given to the family, and finally retired to Switzerland, under the pretext of endeavouring to influence certain prejudiced Legitimists residing in that country; being obliged to remain there until means could be forwarded to pay the expenses of her journey home.

The private papers turned out to be worthless, several of the most important documents described by Naundorff not

being forthcoming, especially the letter from the Duke de Berri, concerning which Naundorff was not certain whether it had been seized among the effects of Mr. Petzold, or left among his possessions at Crossen !

So this is the end of the famous De Berri letter, which, of course, never existed ; another instance of the fatal contrast between fact and assertion as regards the pretended written proofs of Naundorff's story.

It was no easy matter for these devoted adherents of Naundorff to maintain himself and his whole family, especially as among the subscribers were some dishonest persons, who made a lucrative business out of their supposed assistance, and demanded a high price for services which were of no real advantage to the cause. M. Albouys was too much under the influence of the clergy to be very enthusiastic in his loyalty to the Pretender, and after a short time he retired from active participation in the work, and went back to his residence at Cahors.

According to Naundorff, plots were rife for his destruction. He was urged by a false friend to leave his circle of poor and humble benefactors, and accept the hospitality of a distinguished prelate, whose adherence would attract a crowd of wealthy and influential followers ; he was told by other traitors that his marriage stood in the way of his advancement, and must therefore be repudiated ; he was tempted by a beautiful woman, an emissary of his enemies, to flee with her into obscurity and a life of sinful pleasure ; and, all these bribes having failed, attempts were made to put him out of the way by violence.

However, he maintained an heroic resistance against all these snares, and was miraculously preserved from poison and

dagger, continuing to hold himself accessible to everybody who wished to make his acquaintance, and repeating his story to all who would listen; while he doubtless gleaned many a telling fact from the reminiscences of revolutionary days offered freely by his unwary visitors.

Among the many instances cited of persons formerly familiar with the Court having recognised in Naundorff the lost Dauphin, it is easy to see, even from Naundorff's own account, that those persons did the talking, and that he obtained much information from their disclosures, which he afterwards used as though emanating from his own experience.

One of the most amusing attempts to fortify Naundorff's position concerns his fatal facility in speaking German as contrasted with his ignorance of French, a fact kept out of sight as much as possible by his biographer, and smoothed over when necessarily mentioned.

We are told that on one occasion in Paris a German stranger held a conversation with Naundorff, and at its close was asked of what part of Germany Naundorff was a native, judging from his speech. The man replied: "He is not German by birth, but a Frenchman who has learned the German language."

To this is added the assertion of Naundorff's wife that, in the early days of their marriage, she found it difficult to understand her husband; and supposing him to be a Prussian, his accent and his manner of expressing himself surprised her extremely.

This is very funny, coming as it does after Naundorff had learned to speak French, and in direct contradiction to the earlier testimony of competent German witnesses, who declared that Naundorff spoke German like a person who had spoken it always, and that he was even eloquent in it; while he

could not speak French at all, and had only just begun to read and translate that language when he left Germany for France.

About this time M. Appert again offered Naundorff a thousand francs, it being a sum which he had been saving for a long time out of his small salary as priest. He told Naundorff to take it, and use it immediately for the relief of the most pressing wants of his absent family. But Naundorff gave it instead to M. St. Didier, to pay the expenses of a journey to Prague, for the purpose of trying to induce the Duchess to consent to the desired interview.

“Go to Prague!” cried Naundorff. “Take this note. It is my children’s bread; but never mind, God will take care of them!”

“Go! My country—its misfortunes—Henri V. of France—everything speaks to my heart of the necessity of finding again my sister!”

Naundorff’s biographer quotes this disgusting outburst of selfish conceit as an expression of sublime patriotism; but the general reader will bestow a juster criticism upon such conduct.

Fortunately for the deserted children, they were not left to the mercies of the haphazard providence in which their good-for-nothing father placed such cheerful confidence.

Early in January, 1834, Madame de Genèrès, a niece of Madame Rambaud, becoming convinced of the truth of Naundorff’s story, sold her jewels and other valuables, and went to Crossen to minister to the helpless family, removing with them soon afterwards to Dresden, where they all lived in comfort, the children being supplied with means of education, and taking also their first lesson in playing their new rôle of princes and princesses of the blood; as not only Madame

Genèrès, but also the French tutor, treated them as royal personages.

That whole clique of partisans determined from the outset to ignore the political disability arising from Naundorff's marriage with a plebeian woman, and his biographer boldly declares that his wife, through her union with the "Prince," became a princess, her daughters princesses, and her sons heirs of the crown of France.

After long waiting, a letter from the Duchess had been received, in answer to the petitions addressed to her by Naundorff's adherents. It was dated December 12, 1833, six months after Naundorff's appearance in Paris, and the extract quoted in the biography is as follows:—

" . . . I have too much certainty of the death of my brother to be able to recognise him in the person who now presents himself. The proofs which he gives me are not sufficiently clear. I have no remembrance of the incidents of which he reminds me, and I cannot consent to the interview which he proposes. I am not frightened by the threats which he ventures to pronounce. Let him give me more positive proofs, if he has any.—M. T."

The important point in this letter is that the Duchess had no recollection of the circumstances related by Naundorff as proofs of his identity. Naturally, she would not remember incidents so trivial, and Naundorff was quite safe in making up as long a story as he chose out of such material. His object was to give an air of reality to his statements, while making it appear that the Duchess' continued refusal to be convinced was dictated by selfish policy. But she demanded proofs, and accordingly M. Morel de St. Didier, one of Naundorff's most zealous partisans, was chosen as messenger.

M. de St. Didier agreed to undertake the mission ; but he demanded a colleague, to give more weight and security to his embassy. Accordingly, Naundorff chose a second messenger, a man of position and influence, who at first consented to go, but at the last moment backed out ; so that St. Didier was obliged, after all, to run the risk by himself. On arriving at Prague, he called on one of the ladies in attendance upon the Duchess, and through her influence obtained the desired interview ; at the very beginning of which, however, the Duchess informed him that she had already sent (Dec. 15, 1833) a positive refusal to the written demand for a meeting between herself and Naundorff. St. Didier sought to change her determination by pleading Naundorff's cause, and the Duchess allowed him to free his mind, throwing in now and then a reply which showed that his tirade made no impression upon her. St. Didier presented her with a portrait of Naundorff. She studied it attentively, and finally said that she could not discover any resemblance to her family. He then offered the despatches furnished him by Naundorff. He was in hopes that she would read them in his presence ; but as it was near night, and the lamps had not yet been lighted, she closed the interview by promising to examine the papers at another time. She told him that in a matter so important she must consult the King and the Dauphin, and therefore she could not give him her reply until after several days.

After the audience, St. Didier, fearing that he had not been sufficiently explicit upon certain points of his argument, sent to the Duchess a written communication containing the sum and substance of Naundorff's repeated assertions, although here, as elsewhere, the account is varied by important changes and decided contradictions. For instance, in this document it is asserted that Naundorff gave two

papers to LeCoq; whereas in his first story LeCoq took only one, the one bearing the Queen's signature. Also that not having any papers on his arrival at Berlin, he was about to be thrown into prison, and saved himself by declaring his identity to Prince Hardenberg; whereas he was allowed to enter the city on a false passport, and consulted LeCoq at his boarding-house. Also that after telling his story he was forced to leave Berlin immediately, settle in Spandau, and bear the name of Naundorff, which was imposed upon him by the Government, and establish himself as a married man, the choice of a wife being left to himself; whereas he lived in Berlin nearly two years after his arrival was known to the police, and the name of Naundorff was in his passport, and he moved to Spandau in 1812, and did not marry till 1818, and then at his own desire, and not by any order of the Government. Also that he had always signed his addresses to royal personages not by the name imposed upon him by force, but by that of "*Louis-Charles, Duc de Normandie*"; whereas the name of Naundorff was of his own choosing, and was not imposed upon him by force, and his papers to royal personages were signed "*Charles-Louis*," and not "*Louis-Charles*."

With respect to this name, Naundorff wrote to the Duchess that, as she herself must know, he was not baptized "*Louis-Charles*," but "*Charles-Louis*." The document closed with solemn warnings of the misfortunes which would overwhelm France and the royal family in case of a refusal to recognise the Pretender's claims.

At the next interview the Duchess informed St. Didier that she had read all the papers carefully, but found nothing in them to change her former opinion. If anything could have arrested her attention, it would have been Madame

Ramband's letter, for she remembered that the lady was really her brother's chambermaid. However, that was nothing. St. Didier tried to convince her by the usual arguments, but she replied to all of them, "That is not enough. I must have more positive proof before I grant him an interview." Finally she told St. Didier that she would examine the matter anew, and if Naundorff would send her by a safe messenger, and in a sealed letter, an account of what he desired to tell her in person,—above all, *the full details of his escape from the Temple*,—she would decide whether she could consent to see him. In any case, the interview must be in the presence of witnesses, and not with him alone, as he had requested. She also assured St. Didier that Naundorff's charges against the Prussian Government were improbable, because the King of Prussia had no interest in persecuting the son of Louis XVI.

St. Didier arrived in Paris Feb. 3, 1834, and hastened to report the result of his mission. When he delivered the request of the Duchess for a written account of what the Pretender wished to tell her, and *especially a full description of the escape from the Temple*, Naundorff's countenance changed; to quote from his eulogistic biographer, "*un mécontentement visible se dessina sur la majestueuse figure du Prince.*" He declared that he had already furnished the Duchess with details which ought to be for her positive proofs, and had sent ten times as many documents as were sufficient to impose upon her conscience the duty of receiving the person who assumed to be her brother. After much reflection, he decided to make another effort by letter.

This document, which was a long one, contained, for the most part, a repetition of previous assertions, mingled with expressions of affection for his "sister," and accusations of

persecution on the part of the Prussian Government, which charges were false, even on his own showing. He also declared that he had signed his letters to the King of Prussia "*Louis-Charles*," the fact being that previous to his arrival in Paris he had always written the name "*Charles-Louis*."

But the most important subject of all, and the one most strongly insisted upon by the Duchess,—namely, *the escape from the Temple*,—was dismissed with very few words. Instead of describing the event as he tells it in his memoirs, written two years later, he merely said that after a long period of neglect and ill-treatment in the Temple, he was suddenly transferred to more comfortable quarters; and a few days afterwards three men, one of them being the man who waited upon him regularly, came into his room and carried him at first out of the chamber and afterwards out of the house. A woman was present when he was put against his will into a large basket, from which a child of his own age and size had been taken and placed in his bed. This event occurred a short time after he had been visited by three other men, whom he took to be physicians, who asked him a multitude of questions and examined him in all sorts of ways, to his great annoyance. He finished this part of the letter by saying: "This is all that I can tell your Royal Highness about the matter in writing, prudence forbidding me to confide to paper the mystery which envelopes all that concerns the child who was substituted for me."

He then demanded again a personal interview with the Duchess, but with her alone, and by word of mouth, declaring that he could furnish her with proofs which would dissipate all her doubts, if the letter should fail to convince

her of his identity. In case of her persistent refusal to see him, he should appeal to the French courts and invoke the laws of the land to grant him justice. The letter was signed,—

“ Louis-Charles, Duc de Normandie.”

The contradictions between the account of the escape in this letter and in the memoirs are, of themselves, enough to convict Naundorff of imposture. Even his biographer recognises the blunder relative to the visit from the three doctors, and says the reader must not confound this episode with the examination made after the Dauphin had been carried away and the deaf-mute put in his place. Naundorff speaks here of a long illness during his imprisonment, of which there is not a word in the memoirs; on the contrary, the Dauphin's sound health is insisted upon in contrast with the condition of the dying child. Again, there is not a word about the mannikin, nor about the deaf and dumb boy, nor about the Dauphin's seven months' concealment in the garret. He says instead that he was carried out of the Temple very soon after having been carried out of his room. The sentence wherein he excuses himself for not describing the event more fully is nonsense. There was no “prudence” required with reference to the child who was substituted for him, and the Duchess felt no interest in the fate of the substituted child. He evidently was sparing of details because he had none to give. He recognised the fact that the Duchess knew the truth respecting her brother's escape, while he did not know it, and he was conscious that he would inevitably compromise himself if he should attempt to tell the story.

The refusal of the Duchess to see him or to answer his letters was perfectly natural and just, in view of the actual

circumstances, and the ado made by himself and his party in consequence of his inability to force an interview is only intended to cover up his failure and mislead the judgment of the public.

The Viscount de Larochevoucauld, before mentioned, did not lose his interest in Naundorff's game in consequence of the letter from Prince Augustus denying all knowledge of the person described. On the contrary, he thought it wise to keep close watch of the proceedings; and, accordingly, he called upon Naundorff and offered his services, not, as he declared at the outset, to further the interests of Louis XVII., whose existence he ignored, but simply to enable the Pretender to prove the truth of his assertions and establish the identity of the individual he assumed to be. The incidents of that interview were given at length in a letter to the Duchess d'Angoulême and afterwards repeated in his own memoirs. He said it could not be denied that Naundorff bore some resemblance to the portraits of Louis XVII. and to the general type of the Bourbons.

After polite speeches on both sides, Naundorff assured his noble visitor that he had no desire to take away the crown from Henri V.; he intended to wear it only until the young Duke should be old enough to assume his duties. But he protested against the boy's majority being set at thirteen years of age, as such a course would be disastrous for France. He wished Henri V. to be consecrated as king at the same time with himself. He should never claim the crown, unless at the command of Heaven. All that he demanded was his name and his family rights, and those he would have at any price. He declared that he could convince his "sister" of his identity after ten minutes' conversation, and demanded that she should grant him an interview. Dresden would be the best place.

He had at hand sufficient proofs of the truth of his story, and he was willing to appear before the French tribunals to make good his claims. Finally, he handed the Viscount a written memoir of his past life, and appointed another interview after three days.

Larochefoucauld owned to having been much impressed by the manner and conversation of the man: his familiar mention of his family, his "sister," the Duke de Berri, who had died for him, the Duke's son, whom he was ready to acknowledge as Henri V., etc., etc.; and he described the speaker as having nothing of the bold impostor in his words or looks or ways. So that, whether the claim was prompted by insanity, or monomania, or a fixed idea, or a self-conceived or a suggested plan, he, at any rate, advanced it in a manner so calm, so reasonable, so firm, so fully persuaded in his own mind, as to be almost persuasive to other minds.

The interview lasted over an hour; and at its close the Viscount said he should read the offered memoir with attention, but a written account was not proof, and in such a matter proofs were what was wanted, and proofs of more than one kind.

Naundorff assured him that these should be forthcoming on demand, and the two men parted.

A second interview occurred later, and Larochefoucauld's impressions remained the same. As for the memoir, he found it so entirely improbable as to deserve consideration merely as a romance. He remitted to the Duchess a letter from Naundorff as desired, and discussed the question of permitting further interviews. In his opinion, to see Naundorff privately would give him a chance to invent and publish whatever he liked, and thereby strengthen the credulity of the public in his behalf; not to see him at all, nor pay any attention to his communications, might irritate him to force a judicial trial,

the result of which would undoubtedly be his defeat ; but the effect of which might be disagreeable, especially in the existing state of affairs. The decision must rest with the Duchess. In the meantime he considered it most prudent to break off all connection on his part with Naundorff, but to keep himself informed of all his movements. He added that Naundorff wished him to carry the letter himself to the Duchess ; but he had refused, as to do this would be to give the situation undue importance.

Up to this time, Naundorff had been staying at the house of M. Emil de St. Hilaire, in the Chaussée d'Antin, a little out of town ; but soon afterwards he removed to a boarding-house in the city, Rue des Postes. Naundorff's biographer says that the change was made at the desire of Larochefoucauld, in order to enable him to put spies upon Naundorff's tracks, and that the Viscount agreed to pay all expenses, and did not keep his promise. Two young priests were boarding in the same house, and Naundorff considered them as placed there to keep watch of him.

During St. Didier's absence, Naundorff had become the centre of a new excitement. On January 28, 1833, at 8 p.m., he was stabbed in the Place du Carrousel, and returned to his friends exhausted, with bloody clothes and several wounds in his chest. One blow fell near the region of the heart ; another hit a medal bearing an effigy of Jesus Christ ; the rest were only slight scratches.

The account given by himself and the friends with whom he was living makes the event appear what unbelievers said it was—a trick of his own devising, calculated to increase public curiosity in his regard, and render more probable his charges against the supposed political enemies who had persecuted him so many years and in so many ways.

The attack was said to have been made by an entire stranger.

After seizing Naundorff, he gave a sharp whistle, and was joined by two confederates, who assisted in the stabbing, all three running away on seeing a carriage approaching.

Naundorff, who was left lying on the ground, managed to get to his feet and to stagger home, where his friends lavished upon him the most tender care; and a physician was summoned, who attended him until all danger was past.

Thus far the main incidents, which must be examined in the light thrown upon them through the letters written to the Duchess d'Angoulême by the two enthusiastic lady-protectors of Naundorff, in the hope of influencing her decision.

One of these ladies says that after giving the wounded sufferer the first assistance, it was necessary to find a physician whose discretion could be relied upon. Time pressed, and the danger might be immediate.

At last a surgeon was obtained in whom they could place confidence. After examining the patient, he assured them that if the knife had gone a little farther the wound would have been fatal. A formal report was prepared by the physician, to be used whenever the proper time to break silence should arrive.

From grave motives of prudence concerning the physician, it was decided to keep the matter a profound secret.

The letter closed by reminding the Duchess that the event being so visibly providential, miraculous in all its details (as the personage himself was a miracle), it behooved her to consider well whether this were not the right moment to encounter the personage in a path which seemed indicated by the finger of God; a path wherein the destinies of France, unhappy and suffering, implored her to yield; a path where honour

would meet honour; a path in which alone Divine mercy was waiting, after having traced the way with the point of a dagger bathed in innocent blood.

The other feminine correspondent, after reiterating her belief in the genuineness of the Pretender's claims, closed her argument with the declaration that nobody would take the trouble to assassinate an impostor, and therefore the Duchess ought to consent to see her angust brother.

The eagerness of these appeals only strengthens the suspicion that the whole affair was a stratagem,—at least, on Naundorff's part,—and the disingenuousness of the statements supports such a theory.

In the first place, as people said at the time, it was impossible that a man should be attacked and stabbed in the Place du Carrousel at eight o'clock in the evening without anybody seeing or hearing the struggle. That square was one of the most frequented spots in Paris; it was well lighted and well protected by policemen, and at that early hour was sure to be full of passers-by.

Next, the physician's report, instead of having been made out as a secret document to be kept by the parties most interested until some future time of revelation, was a simple statement of facts imparted to Viscount de Larochevoucauld, and not shared by Naundorff and his partisans, they never having seen it until it was published in Larochevoucauld's memoirs several years afterwards.

Also, the assertion that it was decided to keep the event a profound secret for a time, principally out of consideration for the physician employed, is manifestly absurd. He ministered to the wounded man as a surgeon, and had no further connection with the affair; moreover, his report describes the in-

juries as much less severe than the others declared them to be, and there is no evidence that he ever made the remarks ascribed to him as negatory of the theory that the wounds were self-inflicted.

Naundorff was stabbed January 28, and yet the doctor was not summoned until January 31; and then it was Larochevoucauld who sent him, and not Naundorff and his friends who called him.

In his description of his patient, who went by the name of "Charles," he says that the man's hair was black, and seemed to have been dyed. This important statement is passed over in silence by the biographer. It is evident that Naundorff made a study of his Bourbon aspect, and dressed up to it; probably in his researches respecting that family he discovered that his own hair was too light-coloured for the connection, and so dyed it to the requisite shade.

The eyes were given as blue; the face high-coloured; the beard auburn; the muscles strongly developed.

This last item is strong proof in refutation of Naundorff's account of his early life. An infancy passed in the luxury of a royal palace, a youth spent in the forced inaction of a prison, would not tend to the development of muscular force, and his later sedentary habits as a watchmaker were equally unfavourable to such a result.

The principal wound was at a breadth of three fingers below the left breast, and about half an inch from the middle line of the body, a wound of fifteen lines long by one line wide. The largest part of the opening was in the middle, the direction horizontal. The edges were red and inflamed, but only very slightly so. Adipose tissue had interposed between the lips, and cicatrization had already begun; so that it was not possible to judge of the depth of the wound. The form of the cut did

not determine by what kind of instrument it was performed. Near the opening were three or four slight breaches of the skin, much smaller and much less profound than the main injury. The clothing of the patient was exhibited, displaying several slashes in the cloth; also a silver medal, about half a line in thickness, which was deeply indented. The shirt was stained with blood in the part corresponding to the wound; the quantity of blood lost was an ounce or an ounce and a half. The lungs and heart were not injured, and the pain suffered was entirely superficial.

Owing to the patient's robust constitution, the state of his pulse, and his complaining of a pain in his side, the doctor considered it advisable to bleed him.

The second report, made February 1, mentioned the discovery, at the distance of about an inch from the main wound, of a slight bruise, about an inch long, which might have been caused by the pressure of the medal when struck.

The third report, February 4, declared that all pain had ceased; the wound was healing naturally, and the patient was able to leave his bed. In this connection the physician stated that the wound appeared to him to have been caused by the blow of a sharp instrument, and not by a gradual cutting into the flesh.

This singular remark must have been made at the suggestion of his patient, who in the same interview requested him to certify that the cuts in his clothes corresponded to the wounds on his body, thus anticipating the charge of an intentional attack upon himself for obvious purposes.

February 7th.—The surgeon reported that the suppuration had increased, which led him to think that the wound was deeper than he had at first supposed it to be.

February 9th.—Naundorff complained of slight uneasiness

in the region of the heart; but the doctor reported that there was nothing the matter with heart or lungs.

The last report was made February 10, and stated that the wound was going on well, and in two or three days would be entirely healed.

This account, which, it must be remembered, was not submitted to Naundorff and his friends, and was not published until several years after the date of the letters already mentioned, gives an entirely different aspect to the affair. According to Naundorff's partisans, the chief blow came within half a line of reaching the heart, and there were in all six wounds made by a dagger, while the medal was struck with such force that it remained bent in a deep hollow.

According to the doctor, the patient was bled at first, as a precautionary measure. After that all went well; in a week from the time of the alleged attack he was out of bed, and in two weeks the wound was healed.

According to the other witnesses, Naundorff was twice at the point of death during this period. On one of those occasions, after several hours of convulsive agony, the sufferer, believing himself near his end, called his friends to his bedside, and charged them, in case of his death, to burn without examination a certain roll of papers to be found among his effects, in order that, at least, his sister's honour might be saved!

They were also to tell her that his greatest regret on the border of his grave was not to have been able to clasp her in his arms and bid her an eternal farewell. His last thoughts and wishes were for her!

(Not a word of remembrance for the wife and five children left in misery at home!)

Then the convulsions returned, and were only checked by the arrival of the surgeon, who immediately applied leeches, and

thus saved the sufferer's life. (A proceeding of which he makes no mention in his report.)

M. Gruau quotes from Larochevoucauld's *Memoirs* a letter written to the Duchess upon this subject, which shows how the matter appeared in the eyes of a shrewd man of the world, sufficiently interested to take full notice of what was happening.

He asks how a murderous assault could possibly be perpetrated in the Place du Carrousel at eight o'clock in the evening, it being neither the locality nor the hour for assassination. And he naturally queries whether this person might not have wounded himself, in order to increase public interest in his cause and to augment the zeal of his partisans. Larochevoucauld was sent for in haste, January 29, and the wounds, and the bloody clothes, and the injured medal were duly displayed for his inspection. He describes the principal cut as several lines distant from the heart; whereas Naundorff's friends asserted that it was only half a line away. Larochevoucauld was struck by the extreme assurance of Naundorff's tone in discussing the event.

"The God of St. Louis, who has always protected me," he cried, "has just saved me again as by a miracle. He will finish His work, sir, in making me recognised as the son of the unfortunate Louis XVI. Yes, I am genuine, and soon everybody will know it! It is to be hoped that my sister will no longer be opposed to my recognition, which will take place without her help and in spite of her!"

Larochevoucauld made no reply to this tirade; and one of the persons present asked him,—

"Do you still doubt? Dare you doubt any longer?"

Whereupon he answered,—

"I regret the misfortune and the consequent suffering. I acknowledge that the circumstance is grave. But nothing in

the world can make me declare myself convinced until there is no longer cause for doubt, and until all the proofs professed to be held in reserve are brought forward."

This challenge was received in silence.

Here, as elsewhere in matters concerning Naundorff, these good ladies appear to have acted honestly; but they were so thoroughly bewitched by the Pretender's personality that they were incapable of detecting his deceit.

According to Larochevoucauld, it was he who sent the physician, a skilful and discreet man, who had no knowledge of the patient, and whose reports were naturally handed to the person who employed him.

Larochevoucauld was evidently much impressed by the apparent sincerity and simplicity of Naundorff's manner. He granted that the wound was made by a severe blow, and that it might have been fatal if it had gone a few lines deeper; he admitted also that the holes in the clothing corresponded to the injuries of the person; and yet he could not overlook the improbability of such a deed having been attempted at the designated time and place, nor rid himself of the suspicion that the whole affair was a trick.

To us, after so long a time, and having the whole life of Naundorff in review, the trick theory seems to afford the most satisfactory explanation.

As the surgeon did not know anything about Naundorff, he naturally supposed the attack genuine, and his observations were influenced by his belief.

And yet his reports describe a wound of no importance.

The excited condition of the patient, which seemed to indicate blood-letting, might easily have arisen from his conversation with Larochevoucauld the day after the wound was inflicted, and from his general state of hopefulness concerning

the probable effect of the incident upon the furtherance of his plans; his opinion being upheld and strengthened by his surrounding friends, who evidently believed that the way to success was opening before them all.

If the wounds had been as severe as those ladies supposed, or if they had been inflicted by another person, so that their depth and extent could not be known to the sufferer, he would have been likely to apply to a surgeon at once, instead of waiting until the cut had begun to heal, so that it was impossible to tell how deep the knife had gone.

Throughout Naundorff's Memoirs there is so much equivocation and exaggeration, to say nothing of absolute falsehood, that it is impossible to feel confidence in any of his statements.

Those letters to the Duchess, for instance, give the impression that Naundorff's friends procured a surgeon immediately; whereas he was sent by Larochefoucauld three days after the event. Also, that the surgeon's report was carefully preserved by them until the proper time should arrive for its production in evidence; whereas they never had the papers, and never knew anything about them until Larochefoucauld's Memoirs were published years afterwards.

Such errors are not mistakes of carelessness; they are wilful deceptions, practised for a purpose; although the blame of the deceit is to be laid upon Naundorff, whose influence over these persons appears to have been unbounded at the time.

During Naundorff's confinement to the house he wrote long letters to the Duchess and to Larochefoucauld; which proves that he could not have been so near death as his partisans would have us believe.

February 8th, he wrote to the Viscount that the letter which it was agreed between them he should prepare for his "sister," was ready, and he begged him to come the next Sunday and read the communication before it should be sealed. He declared also that whatever might be the response of the Duchess, he would not wait a day longer than the term he had fixed—namely, one month—before applying to the French tribunals for the hearing of his cause. Nor would he make any more statements in writing. He complained that he was constantly besieged with questions which he ought not to answer, and requested to furnish details which anybody might know he could not write down; in short, he was tired of the position in which he was placed, and this attempt to influence the Duchess should be his last undertaking of the sort.

A day or two later he wrote again, that, after due reflection, he had decided not to accept Larochevoucauld's proposition to go to Prague and try to effect a personal interview with the Duchess, as he did not consider it safe to venture into the Austrian boundaries, nor among the courtiers of Charles X.

But he should propose to his "sister" to give him a rendezvous outside of Austria; and, in case of her refusing to meet him herself, should ask her to send a confidential agent, who, in connection with his own messenger, should examine all the proofs he had to offer, including the marks upon his person, which were already known to her. It was not for himself so much that he wanted justice to be done, as for her, for his family, for the future of Henri V.

It appears that Larochevoucauld not only proposed the plan of a journey to Prague by Naundorff himself, but also offered to furnish the necessary funds for the undertaking. Perhaps he thought that the quickest way to put an end to the farce; for it is certain that the Duchess never intended to grant the desired interview.

Larochefoucauld seems to have admitted the probability of the escape of the Dauphin from the Temple; but he evidently never believed Naundorff's story, although he was impressed by his manner and appearance, and curious to discover the origin of his adventurous enterprise.

Naundorff's conduct at this juncture shows that while he was pretending to give the Viscount his full confidence, and really using him as a stepping-stone to the, as yet, inaccessible standpoint of the Duchess, he did not let him know of his earlier attempts at correspondence with his "sister," nor admit the fact that he had already sent a messenger to Prague, who would be on his homeward way at the very time appointed for Naundorff's own journey!

Larochefoucauld commented upon these letters in his Memoirs. He said that if Naundorff had not, from the first, been supported by certain persons of consideration, it would have been better to leave him to himself; but, under the circumstances, it seemed necessary to bring the matter to some kind of a crisis.

With regard to the physical marks, upon which Naundorff laid so much stress, the principal one was an image of the Dove or Holy Spirit, which he bore upon his thigh.

But, a long time after this episode was finished, Larochefoucauld received a letter from a person whose name he does not mention in his Memoirs, but who, he says, was very active in the Pretender's affairs, and who wrote as follows:—

"The declarations of Naundorff and his friends were not all true. For example, they said that the prisoner of the Temple carried on his flank the sign of the Holy Ghost; whereas Madame de Tourzel assured her children that when the Dauphin was confided to her care there was not the least mark upon his body."

She meant, of course, birth-mark, for the Prince had already been inoculated.

Naundorff's biographer comments at great length upon this statement, his chief argument being that Naundorff had such a mark, which was formed by the veins, and therefore could not be destroyed, although an attempt had been made in one of his dungeons to efface that proof of identity.

The same story is told over and over again in the *Memoirs*; and in one instance Naundorff offers, as evidence of his veracity, a scar on the tip of one of his fingers, which, he says, was made in his struggles to free himself from the ruffian's knife.

As though a scar were any proof of the cause of a wound!

From all the given circumstances one would infer, either that, believing the Dauphin to have had such a mark, Naundorff tried to make a similar one upon his own person, or that, having a mark which the Dauphin did not possess, he tried to efface it; for in one place he speaks as though his enemies had succeeded in at least partially obliterating that sign.

After Naundorff had removed to the lodging in Paris, where he promised to live quietly, and not go out imprudently, Larochevoucauld saw him several times.

By degrees the news of his presence and pretensions spread abroad, and public curiosity was awakened. This was just what Naundorff wanted; and, instead of abiding by the arrangement agreed upon, he committed many indiscretions, to the increasing discontent of Larochevoucauld and others, who wanted to get at the facts, while avoiding disturbance.

After a while Naundorff withdrew to a lodging in the country, to write out, in German, a full history of his life, supported by satisfactory proofs.

Larochevoucauld had all along insisted upon the necessity

of furnishing such a document; and at the time appointed he went to visit Naundorff, accompanied by a well-known and highly esteemed lawyer, M. Janvier, who was entirely unprejudiced in the matter, and whose integrity could not be questioned.

Not only was the promised memoir still unfinished, but Naundorff was in a highly excited state of mind, apparently beside himself with rage, to which he gave vent by addressing everybody present, his visitors included, with haughty and angry words, because of the general unbelief and inactivity respecting his cause. He was especially aggrieved by a message sent to one of his lady friends by the Duchess, in reply to the letters previously mentioned. The Duchess said that nothing she had yet read had given her any proof of her brother's continued existence; that she could no longer listen to private communications in so important a matter; that as the person pretended to be in possession of satisfactory proofs, he had nothing to do but submit these to some competent judge well known in France, and distinguished for intelligence,—the Chancellor, for instance,—and upon this man's report would depend her decision whether to continue to refuse the demanded interview in private or to accord a meeting at Prague in the presence of witnesses. In the meantime the threat of an appeal to the public courts did not frighten her, and nothing could change her resolution upon the subject.

Naundorff's manner, as described by Larochevoucauld, was imperious and almost imposing; and to a courtier, accustomed to hear such authoritative speeches from the lips of royalty alone, it seemed difficult to believe that an impostor should venture to use language so free concerning personages so high in position. However, when Naundorff proceeded to threaten

to publish his memoir without submitting it to previous inspection, as he had promised to do, Larochefoucauld reminded him that, after the letter written to the Duchess upon the subject at Naundorff's request, such a step would involve an unpardonable breach of good faith; and if it should be attempted, measures would be taken to prevent the fulfilment of the plan. He further declared that if there had been delay in judging the case it was Naundorff's own fault. He had promised to furnish the necessary information, and until this was done the inquiry could not go on. As for the incredulity complained of, he must remember that personal impressions could not be relied on in such a case. There must be written proofs, and the memoir which was to contain these had not yet been submitted to inspection. Nor could he charge other persons with treason and indiscretion, when, instead of preserving the discreet silence advised by his adherents and promised by himself, he was ready to tell his story to anybody who would listen, so that his confidence towards strangers was as annoying as his distrust of familiar friends. Finally, he was informed that if he did not at once give up his project of publication, and promise to abide by the terms agreed upon, Larochefoucauld would take no further steps in the matter. M. Janvier gave the same advice, and with so much force that Naundorff agreed to finish the memoir and send it to him within a few days.

This visit occurred March 22nd, 1834; but on April 11th, when inquiry was again made, the memoir was not yet ready.

In the meantime Larochefoucauld had talked with Naundorff, and combatted his favourite argument for his identity—namely, the testimony of the peasant-prophet Martin. Larochefoucauld tried to convince him that, even admitting the

honesty of Martin, and the reality of his visions, and the truth of his asserted rebuke to Louis XVIII. for occupying a throne which did not belong to him, still, Martin at that time did not say that the true heir was living, nor tell where he was; and so his testimony was of no value in the matter of identity, and his recognition of a Pretender as the Dauphin fifteen years later had no force, unless based upon authentic documents.

During the same interview Naundorff showed a letter coming from Switzerland, and written in German, wherein money and troops were offered him if he would consent to put himself at the head of the Republican party. Laroche foucauld doubted whether the letter was genuine; but whether so or not, he warned Naundorff not to fall into any such snare as that. He told him that if Louis Philippe should become convinced of his alleged identity, his presence would be undesirable, and hence an offer of that kind might be only an attempt to involve him in a conspiracy in order to get rid of him. Naundorff perceived the good sense of this advice, and promised to avoid all such complications.

Two days later Naundorff called upon Laroche foucauld, in order to have a conference with M. Janvier, who talked with him and questioned him for three hours. After he retired M. Janvier remarked :—

“That man places me in a very difficult position. Doubtless there is something extraordinary in his experience. He does not give the impression of an impostor, nor of a madman; his assurance and his simplicity are very striking; and yet he asserts two or three things which are so improbable as to be impossible. However, we will keep quiet, and wait for his memoir.”

They waited a good while; but at last the manuscript

arrived, and Larochevoucauld hastened to report the result to the Duchess. He had not yet read the work himself; but, considering M. Janvier's opinion worthy of great consideration, he would not delay imparting it.

M. Janvier said that the impression produced upon him by the writer of the memoir was not at all confirmed by the memoir itself, which he found to be such a tissue of improbabilities and extravagances that no confidence whatever could be placed in its statements.

On receiving M. Janvier's decision Naundorff was not discouraged, but declared that the God who had protected him thus far in so many dangers and in so miraculous a manner would not leave His work unfinished. He then went on to assert that the King of Prussia and also Louis Philippe possessed proofs of his identity, and demanded that his sister should grant him an interview, as after a quarter of an hour's talk he could remove every doubt. He proposed that she should go to Dresden, under an assumed name, and visit his family and send for him, and she would see that blood would speak, and that he would know her under any disguise. He gave the address of his family, as though expecting that this transparent scheme would be adopted.

Larochevoucauld repeated all this to the Duchess, as he promised Naundorff he would do; and added that it was much more for this man's interest to be seen and heard than to depend upon the effect of his written statements.

In this remark Larochevoucauld hit upon the secret of Naundorff's partial success in his adopted rôle. He was a handsome man, of noble presence and attractive manners, gentle in his speech, and dignified in his bearing. Add to

these interesting qualities a resemblance to the Bourbon type, which resemblance he cultivated to the utmost in his looks and ways, and it is no wonder that many persons were impressed and some converted. There is no doubt that his great desire to have an interview with the Duchess was founded upon his strong confidence in his personal magnetism ; he believed himself to be irresistible, and he had good reason for that belief, especially where women were concerned. Let him only tell his "sister" to her face that he was her long-lost brother, and her doubts would melt away at once, and all the rest of his coveted prosperity would follow !

Larochefoucauld's letter to the Duchess was written June 9, 1834, and from that time he held himself aloof from Naundorff's affairs, and consequently did not know all that was going on, although he was aware that another Dauphin had appealed to public notice in the person of Richemont, and that Naundorff was combatting the assertions of his rival by articles in certain newspapers, warning the people against the new Pretender, and assuring them that the genuine Dauphin was still in existence, and would one day demand the restoration of his royal name, which could not be denied him, seeing that his claim was based upon authentic documents, which would in due time be produced, and upon personal proofs which he was able to furnish.

Richemont was tried before the Court of Assizes in Paris, and sentenced to several years' imprisonment, while Naundorff was left undisturbed.

This difference of treatment was cited by Naundorff and his partisans as a proof that the Government believed in the justice of his claim. But it does not prove any such thing. The

cases were not similar. Richemont came to Paris asserting loudly his rights, and giving occasion for his arrest as a disturber of the public peace; Naundorff's work was done in private, and the influential personages who had cognizance of the matter considered him, as Larochefoucauld said, more deceived than deceiving. His manner was so simple and earnest that nearly everybody who saw and heard him was convinced that he really believed his own story; consequently, there was a general disposition to regard him as a monomaniac, or as what we call in these days "a crank."

In November, 1834, Naundorff wrote a long article, purporting to be addressed to Louis Philippe, but couched in language so insolent that it is certain the King never saw it. His biographer says it was printed and distributed without being confiscated or suppressed, which probably means that it was printed in secret and privately distributed among the faithful.

In December of the same year, Naundorff addressed at length the Chamber of Deputies, which petition was mentioned in the order of the day, but no action was taken upon it.

After a time Larochefoucauld was again applied to in Naundorff's behalf. A certain gentleman had been convinced of Naundorff's identity, and urged Larochefoucauld to consent to another interview. He comprehended the situation, and agreed that it was difficult in Naundorff's presence to refuse interest and even confidence in his story. So the hour was appointed, and the two men came to the Viscount's house. Larochefoucauld found that Naundorff had improved greatly during the interval; he spoke French with more ease, his manners were more engaging than ever, and he appeared to have acquired considerable knowledge of men, of the existing

state of affairs, and of the world in general. They had a long talk together ; and although Naundorff did not say anything new, his arguments were brought forward with so much dignity, force and confidence as to impress Larochevoucauld deeply, especially when he contrasted Naundorff's appearance and manner with his actual circumstances.

The result of the interview was that Larochevoucauld promised to use his influence to induce the Chancellor, Marquis de Pastoret, to give Naundorff a hearing. Accordingly, he visited the Chancellor ; but the reply was a positive refusal to have anything to do with the matter. He said he held that Louis XVII. died in the Temple, and any one claiming his title was either an impostor or a fool ; and Larochevoucauld retired from the interview fortified in his own determination to refuse any further connection with the affair.

Naundorff's biographer covers many pages with abuse of the Duchess, the Chancellor, and the world in general, for their neglect of Naundorff's claims.

But any impartial reader of the testimony, even as it is given in these partisan works, must acknowledge that the fault was entirely on Naundorff's side. He demanded a hearing, and told his story. The story was considered a fable, and proofs of its verity were required.

The evidence offered by him was no proof at all ; and when it was rejected, he declared that he possessed authentic documents which nobody could gainsay.

Naturally, he was requested to show those papers ; and when he refused, his ability to furnish them was doubted, and all confidence in his pretensions was lost.

Larochevoucauld appears not to have known anything about

the fate of the real Dauphin, although he knew that there was reasonable doubt of the alleged death in the Temple. The Duchess knew the truth, and hence her declaration concerning Naundorff:—

“He is an impostor, but a very skilful one !”

Her repeated challenge to Naundorff to show his proofs was made because she knew he could not produce anything satisfactory, and his defeat would silence his pretensions.

Naundorff after this prepared two papers to be presented to the Duchess: one of them a long tirade of reproaches and pathetic laments; the other a repetition of the old story about the pigeon-mark on his body, to which was added the astounding information that the Duchess also had a peculiar mark, which he had seen when she was ill in the Temple, and that their aunt also had a birth-mark, and he was the only person who could tell his “sister” upon what part of the body her mark and that of their aunt was situated. She was assured, moreover, that only he could tell her what their mother used to do before rising in order to obtain news of their good aunt. His agents would show her a paper of which his mother received several copies during the month in which the Dauphin was given up to Simon. Only the Dauphin could tell her who brought the paper, a person known to her as well as to him. Only he could tell her who it was that took him in his arms on their arrival at the Tuileries in 1791. She knew that person very well. Did she remember what their mother did on that occasion, and why? Who was it that came to sleep in his chamber the night of the 9–10 August? In what part of the room did she sleep? His sister knew all these details, and only her brother could repeat them to her. If there still remained a doubt in her mind, she must recall the papers sent to her

after her return to France, which treated of the conduct of the Count de Provence. Those papers belonged to him, her brother. If she should still be unconvinced, she must remember the man who said to them at Varennes, "*I know a secret!*" That man became one of her brother's faithful followers. Finally, if any further proof be demanded, she must recall what their mother did when she received a certain object which she supposed to be lost, and which he would send his sister by his messenger.

The letter finished by saying that he did not explain these matters more fully because she knew very well what was done to the first prisoner at Rouen (Marassin) in order to put the Dauphin out of the way. His emissaries would tell her all about that affair, if she would question them.

Now, after all the ado which Naundorff had made himself, and caused others to make, respecting his desired interview with the Duchess, it must be confessed that the above collection of evidence, which seems to be the best that he had to offer, is woefully small and unsatisfactory. There is something ridiculous, as well as brutal, in his enumeration of the alleged family birth-marks, while the petty details of his "mother's" sayings and doings, and of the conduct of other persons, are a species of testimony of no value whatever. He might have made them up out of his own fancies, or heard them related by Madame Rambaud and other former attendants at the palace and the prison. The paper referred to appears to have been a newspaper or a handbill, such as he might have picked up years after its publication; and the object alluded to as having once belonged to the Queen must have been obtained by accident, as no mention is made of it previously, and it could not have survived the experiences of his various prisons.

There was nothing in this communication to shake the resolve of the Duchess d'Angoulême, and there is nothing in it to awaken belief in Naundorff's veracity at present.

The letters being finished, Naundorff determined to send them by a special messenger, and M. Morel de St. Didier was again chosen for the enterprise.

Notwithstanding the decided repulse of the Duchess to Naundorff's former advances, he was in nowise disheartened, and, taking courage from her mention of Madame Rambaud, he persuaded that aged lady to accompany St. Didier to Prague, and use her influence to change the mind of his obdurate "sister."

On their arrival (in July, 1834) they learned that the Duchess was in Dresden; and as soon as this piece of news had been imparted to Naundorff, he started off (*incognito*, as he expresses it) for the same city, hoping to surprise the royal lady before her advisers should have heard of his journey. But, as it was necessary to raise money for the enterprise, he could not keep his plan entirely secret, and so when he reached Dresden (August 5, 1834) the Duchess was already gone.

However, during her short stay every possible effort was made by Naundorff's partisans in Dresden to hold communication with her and to put Naundorff's family in her way. Madame de Genères solicited permission to pay her respects to the Duchess, in token of her devotion to the cause of legitimacy, and word was sent to her that the Duchess would receive her (August 4) in the evening, at the castle of Pillnitz, where the royal party was to dine. Thereupon she not only went to Pillnitz herself, with two servants of the court, but took with her Naundorff's wife and children, and

placed them in a gallery above the hall, where they could be seen by the party dining below.

According to the biographer, they were noticed and commented upon, the Princess Royal of Saxony saying to the Duke de Bordeaux, after pointing out to him Naundorff's eldest daughter,—

“There is your cousin !”

To which challenge the Duke replied with a laugh,—

“Oh, madame, I have a good many cousins of that sort !”

This sounds apochryphal. It is not likely that the Princess knew Naundorff's daughter by sight, nor that she could recognise the face of a person in the gallery from the distance at which she sat, nor that she would make such a remark to the Duke, nor that he would make such a reply, nor that, if anything of the kind occurred, Naundorff's family would ever hear of it.

When dinner was over, the Naundorff family made haste to station themselves in a corridor through which the royal party was to pass ; and the Duchess, seeing them there, and noticing particularly the eldest girl, asked the King of Saxony who they were. The King's reply was not heard ; but soon afterwards, when Madame de Genèrès went to pay the appointed visit, she was told at the door that the Duchess could not receive her. Nothing daunted, she wrote a letter, begging the Duchess not to leave Dresden without seeing the Naundorff children, and convincing herself by her own eyes that their father could be no other than the Dauphin, her brother.

The letter was speedily returned with the message that the Duchess had no time to see anybody, as she was about to start on her journey.

Another French woman, who gave lessons to the Naundorff

children, had been requested to come to the Duchess, August 5, in the morning; but this appointment also was countermanded, on account of the Duchess being obliged to leave town the same forenoon. The messenger gave the woman sixty crowns in the name of the Duchess; no explanation being offered of the incident.

It is probable that in this case the Duchess intended merely to assist a deserving refugee whose circumstances had in some way come to her knowledge, and that neither the summons nor the counter order had anything to do with Naundorff's affairs; although it is possible that the Duchess hastened her departure from Dresden in order to avoid further annoyance from the Pretender and his tribe.

The remarks made by the young royalties at dinner (if they really said anything of the kind) show that the Naundorff episode was considered in the light of a joke; for if there had ever been any serious question in the mind of the Duchess respecting his identity, etiquette, if not higher motives, would have prevented any jesting upon the subject on the part of royal personages.

August 7, the Duchess was again at home in Prague, having met the King of Prussia at Teplitz on the way. She accorded the desired interview to M. St. Didier; but his reception was cold, and it was evident that she was getting tired of such importunities. St. Didier delivered the despatches and the letters sent by Naundorff, and the Duchess consented to examine them; but she did not appear to attach any value to the papers.

During the previous interview St. Didier had been careful to speak of Naundorff merely as the "Pretender" or the "Personage"; this time he considered himself justified in

giving him the title of "Prince." But as soon as he ventured upon this form the Princess resented the impertinence, and the discussion became more lively. She informed St. Didier that she knew her brother was dead; she had received sufficient proof of the fact. Whereupon St. Didier replied that such a declaration did not accord with her challenge to Naundorff to give a full account of the evasion from the Temple. He reminded her also of the many secret details which the "Prince" had narrated, and as a very striking instance he cited Naundorff's question,—

"When, one day, we all quitted the Tuileries to take a carriage, which we soon left to take another, who was it that held me in his arms during that exchange of carriages?"

The Duchess may be pardoned for not accepting such a conundrum as a sufficient proof of the identity of Naundorff with the Dauphin, even after the solution given with due solemnity by St. Didier that the person who held the child in his arms was no other than Louis XVI. Her answer was: "Bah! all that has been printed; he has read it in some newspaper or other publication!"

When the attempted assassination was mentioned the Duchess smiled and exclaimed: "Allons donc, Monsieur, l'assassination!" which, being interpreted in our vernacular, would read: "Oh, go along, sir, with your 'assassination!'"

She evidently believed that Naundorff had wounded himself with a purpose, and she confirmed this suggestion by exclaiming soon afterwards with ill-concealed anger: "M. St. Didier, that man is nothing but an impostor, but a very skilful one"; adding, "I know that you yourself are perfectly honest; but you are under a delusion which I cannot share."

St. Didier asked what harm there could be in granting an interview, and she replied with energy: "Great harm; because

I should appear to acknowledge him as the person he pretends to be."

St. Didier then informed the Duchess that his Prince was aware of what was carefully kept secret from the rest of the world—namely, that the King of Prussia had recently gone from Dresden to Pillnitz on purpose to meet her; but, failing to find her, had hastened on to Teplitz, where the meeting had taken place.

The Duchess seemed surprised, but acknowledged that it was true; adding that the King of Prussia told her that Naundorff was crazy, and in consideration of his mental condition had been let off easily in certain judicial investigations.

Finding that he made no progress, St. Didier, after a solemn preamble, told her that the Prince was in possession of important facts which ought to remove all doubt from her mind. He then stated those facts. However, he does not take the public into his confidence, but says he must keep silence, because this matter is a secret between the Prince and his sister.

The revelation had a great effect upon the Duchess, who listened with extreme agitation, and then denied the truth of one of the statements, passing over the other without remark.

After this supreme effort St. Didier thought best to retire, without asking leave to present Madame Rambaud, as he had previously intended to do. He considered it more proper to wait till the next day, after the Duchess had had all night wherein to recover from the irritation which he regretted to have been obliged to cause, and which it was exceedingly painful for him to witness.

The next day he returned to the palace, where he saw a lady-in-waiting, through whom he sent a petition to the Duchess to grant an interview to Madame Rambaud.

The day after the same lady sent him a note containing the Duchess' refusal. As soon as he had read the note he told Madame Rambaud that they must leave Prague immediately. He considered his departure as a sacred duty, for he could not remain an hour longer in the vicinity of the Duchess after she had outraged in his presence the Prince whom he had the honour to represent.

The note was followed by an order from the police to Madame Rambaud, ordering her to quit Prague without delay. Accordingly the two messengers entered their carriage in haste and returned to Dresden, where they found Naundorff awaiting the result of their mission.

September 5, they all returned to Paris.

Even from St. Didier's prejudiced account of his interview with the Duchess, it is evident that she respected his honesty, and was at first disposed to treat him with as much consideration as the matter would allow; but the assumption of a royal title for Naundorff was looked upon as an impertinence, while the disclosure of the two asserted facts, one of which at least was a fabrication, was a liberty which the Duchess could not pardon.

Later in the story we are informed that the "fact" which the Duchess did not comment upon (the one she denied is never explained) was that Louis XVIII. left a will to his successor, enjoining upon him to recognise the Prince (that is, Louis XVII.) and give up the throne to its rightful owner; that this testament was made known to Charles X. in a private council, and through the advice and influence of that council Charles X. tore up the will and threw the pieces into the fire.

Whether there is any truth in this story or not, it showed

that there was a great deal of suspicion and curiosity in the mind of the people respecting the mystery of the Temple, and the Duchess betrayed anxiety and excitement during the recital, because she feared that the secret might be at the mercy of this persistent impostor.

Certainly her later conduct showed that she was no more frightened by Naundorff's threats than she had been moved by his appeals, and his subsequent failure to bring forward any satisfactory proof of his claims is evidence that the secrets he pretended to save for his sister alone could not be worth much, otherwise he would have published them to the world in his own defence and as a just punishment for her obstinacy.

There is manifest untruthfulness in St. Didier's account of the conclusion of the interview.

If the Duchess was as much irritated as he says, she probably dismissed him without ceremony, instead of waiting for him to withdraw out of pity for her excited condition.

In such an audience it is not the visitor who puts a limit to the interview; it is the royal entertainer who dismisses the guest. And St. Didier knew enough about courtly manners to await the Duchess' orders, which were probably short and to the point. All that bombast, too, about desiring to leave the country in haste because of insults offered to his "Prince" is brought to naught by the admission that he and his companion were commanded by the police to quit Prague without delay.

In the note of refusal the Duchess sent word that as she knew Madame Rambaud to have been a chambermaid of the Dauphin more than forty years before, she could not suppose that at her age she would undertake so fatiguing a journey, and therefore it was not necessary to present the person bearing her name.

Also, there was nothing in the papers submitted to the

Duchess to induce her to change her opinion, or the resolution which she had already expressed.

An incident of St. Didier's interview with the Duchess shows the false light in which he was disposed to view everything concerning the "Prince."

When he left Paris to go on that futile mission, Naundorff handed him a lithograph portrait of the impostor Richemont, telling him with a laugh to give that to the Duchess, and ask her whether she wanted the original for her brother.

St. Didier delivered this not very respectful message, and the Duchess, after looking at the picture, threw it on the table, exclaiming,—

"Nonsense! that is not the one!"

St. Didier quotes this remark as a proof that the Duchess was not without a memory of the past; whereas all she meant was that that was not Naundorff's face, which she knew very well, because St. Didier on his first visit had given her a portrait of Naundorff, a fact which he seemed to have forgotten.

The narration of this episode offers a good specimen of the inexcusable carelessness, if not the intentional deceitfulness, which characterizes the arrangement of the whole memoir.

The biographer states that Naundorff arrived in Dresden August 5, 1834, just after St. Didier and Madame Rambaud had left that city for Prague. Those unsuccessful messengers returned to Dresden August 12, and they all started September 3 for Paris. That would make the whole enterprise occur in less than a month.

But elsewhere it is stated that Naundorff remained six weeks with his family in Dresden, and that Madame Rambaud stayed there six months.

St. Didier's expatiations upon the reflections of Madame Rambaud when she looked upon the "royal family" are very funny. We are told that she found Louis XVI. in Naundorff, his Queen in Amélie (the wife is ignored entirely in this catalogue), the Dauphin in Edmond, Madame Elizabeth in Antoinette, the Count de Provence in Charles, and the Duke de Berri in Edward, just as later adherents were able to trace the same resemblances in the later born children, Therese, Adelbert, and Emmanuel.

However, it is a fact that in the end they all returned to Paris.

Naundorff took up his abode with one and another of his friends for a time and then settled down as an inmate of Madame Rambaud's family.

After Naundorff's return to France he had nothing to do but forget his "sister"; but he still thought about her, and it was at this time that a crushing revenge occurred to him in the form of an idea, which was to cut in two pieces the little blue silk coat of Versailles memory, and send one half to the Duchess d'Angoulême with this sole reflection: "*Joseph sold by his brethren!*" We are not informed whether this annihilating reproach was ever administered.

In October, 1834, the impostor Richeumont was tried before the Court of Assizes in Paris, and sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment and to surveillance by the police for the rest of his life. However, he escaped after two years, and took refuge in England.

Naundorff took occasion of this trial to bring his own claim before the public, and M. St. Didier appeared in court to announce the existence of "the veritable Duke of Normandy." He was treated with respect in virtue of his own character, but no further attention was paid to Naundorff's declarations.

In order to explain the appearance of Richemont as the Dauphin and to nullify his pretensions, Naundorff and his partisans started the theory that Richemont was no other than Hervagault, who as a child was procured by General Frotté as a substitute for the Dauphin. He was carried into the Temple in a basket of linen and left there, the Dauphin being placed in the basket and carried out a few minutes afterwards. This event is said to have occurred June 4. The next day General Frotté apprised Josephine of the substitution, whereat she was greatly disturbed, and cried out,—

“O Count! what have you done? You have armed the assassins of the father against the child and the nation!”

This communication was made in a written deposition given by Joseph Paulin, and Gruau's comments upon the same render it difficult for the reader to believe that he is acting in good faith in his devotion to Naundorff's cause. He says:—

“We see, then, introduced into the prison of the Temple, in conformity with the declaration of Montmorin, a child who, by an ingenious combination of measures taken to protect the veritable evasion, took the place of the Prince at the moment of his exit in the coffin of the dead child, and who was liberated afterwards, as being the son of Louis XVI., by a party of royalists kept purposely in ignorance of the truth.”

Gruau does not seem to perceive that this story has to do with Naundorff's other account of the evasion, which he told the conspirators in prison and afterwards told the Duchess, when she demanded a description of that event. In that quite different narrative he was carried away in a basket of linen, and he repeats that statement here, in order to nullify the effect of Hervagault's earlier pretension.

Now, in Naundorff's second absurd account of the evasion there is no mention of such a child, and there was no reason

for another substitution. According to Naundorff, he was placed in the coffin, and the dead child was carried to the garret, where the body was afterwards found, and the Government thereby made acquainted with the escape of the Prince. If the living child took the place of the Prince, he must have been left in the garret, and no "party of royalists" could have delivered him; for they were not aware that there was any such hiding-place, and could not have reached it if they had known.

The only child alleged to have been taken out of the Temple by mistake was the deaf-mute, and his escape was due to a blunder on the part of Josephine's agents. In another part of the narrative it is stated that it was Paulin, not Frotté, who informed Josephine and incurred her reproof; also, that the child was taken by Paulin to La Vendée at Josephine's command, she sending a letter to Charette to explain the fatal error.

One sees that the whole story is full of contradictions and of impossible situations; that is because it is a lie, from beginning to end. Naundorff's assertions respecting the revelations made to him in Germany, by Montmorin, shortly before his death, complicate the matter still more hopelessly. This is what Montmorin said: "As long as I live, the plots of your enemies shall be frustrated; but, if I die, make use of the secret which I am about to confide to you, and act always with prudence. While you were still in the Temple, and your deliverance was impossible, it was thought best, in order to keep up the courage of the Royalist party, to spread abroad a rumour of your escape, and, to make the story seem probable, a child of your age, and whose parents had perished on the scaffold, was chosen to represent you. However, at the last moment the plan was given up. An occasion presented

itself; it was made use of, and you were saved. The child who, under your name, was to be carried into La Vendée, took your place in the Temple; but the party which had remained faithful to your family and to the cause of Legitimacy were not informed of the substitution. In the meantime, another party formed the project to carry you off, and succeeded in releasing the other child, and presenting him to the Vendéean army as the genuine Dauphin, as they really believed him to be. That circumstance induced us to keep you away from the Vendéean army. We decided to leave your representative in possession of your name until your complete restoration to health, your condition at that time being a source of great anxiety to us. The Providence which has always watched over your destiny suggested to us this plan as the best means of insuring your safety; for before long the child who had usurped your name fell into the power of your persecutors, who discovered to their chagrin that they had been deceived and, consequently, that the real Dauphin had escaped them."

Naundorff would have us believe that Hervagault and Bruneau, and later, Richemont, were one and the same person, brought forward at certain crises to throw contempt upon his own cause; and that his envoy Marassin was spirited away in 1818, under the name of Mathurin Bruneau, at the same time that the real Mathurin Bruneau was still in prison. But the fact remains that Hervagault laid claim to identity with the Dauphin years before Naundorff was ever heard of, and Bruneau's case was already under discussion when the asserted attempt of Marassin took place.

To judge from historical descriptions, the three characters could not have belonged to the same person. Hervagault was

refined in appearance and gentle in manners; Bruneau was ignorant and extremely coarse; Richemont was handsome and polite. Besides, as Bruneau announced himself almost immediately after Hervagault's disappearance, the difference in looks and ways would have been noticed and appreciated; while Richemont does not in any way answer to the characteristics of Bruneau.

Whether Hervagault and Bruneau and Richemont were three distinct impostors, or one impostor coming up at three different times, is of no consequence as regards the fact of the Dauphin's continued existence.

That such adventurers could flourish for so long a time is good evidence that the Dauphin was generally believed to be alive, and the still lingering faith in the claims of their successor, Naundorff, is due to the same widespread conviction.

Naundorff wrote again to the Duchess, February 13, 1835; but there was no reply.

Soon afterwards he applied to two of the most prominent lawyers of Paris to plead his cause before the proper tribunals; but his propositions were declined.

While this matter was pending, a young royalist named Thomas made his acquaintance, and offered to establish a journal, entitled *La Justice*, to be devoted entirely to Naundorff's interests.

This offer was eagerly accepted; Naundorff paying the first expenses of the enterprise, and leaving the profits and the emoluments to Thomas. But the paper lived only two months, having accomplished nothing more than furnishing

Naundorff with a chance to repeat his story and insist upon his demands in print. Thomas had no money of his own, and Naundorff had no more to give ; also, a certain nobleman who had promised to act as surety for the firm withdrew his protection, and that ended the business.

Thomas went over to the enemy, declaring that he had received information from Prussia which convinced him that Naundorff was an impostor; whereupon Naundorff accused him of slander, and a lawsuit followed, which ended in Naundorff being acquitted of having injured Thomas, and Thomas being obliged to pay the costs of the suit. It was proved that Thomas had received a large sum of money from Naundorff, which he had spent in extravagant living. He was evidently a swindler, and the judgment against him was just, but this result, which was hailed as a great triumph for Naundorff's cause, had really nothing to do with the question of his identity, which was not brought forward at all.

It was at this juncture that M. Gruau became associated with Naundorff, and began to follow that self-imposed vocation of adulatory and submissive service which encouraged the Pretender in his demands and prolonged the limit of his temporary prosperity.

M. Gruau was a lawyer in a provincial town, who, having leisure to meditate upon the recent political troubles of the nation, had come to the conclusion that the Dauphin did not die in the Temple, and would some day reappear to restore order and peace to his distracted kingdom. The early death of wife and child left M. Gruau without domestic ties ; and while his heart was still tender with grief he heard of the new claimant, and espoused his cause with ardour. He read assiduously the journal, *La Justice*, and other publications uphold-

ing Naundorff's pretensions, and after submitting the evidence to what he considered thorough judicial scrutiny, but which, let us hope for the credit of the legal profession in France, was really an examination approached with a favourable prejudice and a foregone conclusion, he became a willing convert, and joined his fate and his fortunes with those of the man he delighted to call his "royal master."

His devotion was sincere, and his labours unwearied, because he really believed that the story was true and that the result would be success; and his unquestioning faith enabled him to skip over and try to hide whatever contradicted the fanciful theory he had adopted.

This is the apparently just, and at any rate the most charitable, explanation of his extremely crooked course as a biographer. Otherwise, he would stand as a charlatan second only to Naundorff himself; for surely never were facts so distorted, and contradicted, and falsified, and omitted, and covered up, and falsehoods so unscrupulously invented and pertinaciously repeated, as in the fanatical works from his untiring pen, which constitute the principal portion of the Naundorff literature.

The degree of professional keenness of which he was capable is sufficiently illustrated in his naïve remark that although Naundorff frequently related incidents which Gruau was disposed to reject as proof, because he had never seen any mention of them in history, he always, sooner or later, found those statements in some book or paper, thereby confirming his confidence in the authenticity of Naundorff's whole story! As though Naundorff could not have seen the "book or paper," too!

Gruau's narrative is written in so partisan a spirit that it is

impossible to get at the exact truth in any of his assertions ; but it is evident from what he says that there was another side to the Thomas affair, and that the trouble was largely due to the fact that Thomas insisted upon the publication of the proofs which Naundorff was continually talking about, and that Naundorff refused to produce the long promised testimony.

Among Naundorff's most devoted followers at this period was the Abbé Laprade, almoner of the "Ladies of the Sacred Heart" at Niort ; and two of Naundorff's letters to him are given in this part of the biography, letters teeming with reverent piety and saintly benevolence, in strong contrast with the writer's former unbelieving mind and subsequent contempt of priestly hypocrisies.

In the meantime, Naundorff continued to try to bring his case before the courts, and after many unsuccessful attempts to engage a lawyer, one was at last found in the person of M. Guyot, and *La Justice* announced that the long promised trial was about to begin.

But there were many formalities to be observed and many objections to be overcome ; furthermore, not a single Government officer could be prevailed upon to risk the bold step of citing the Duchess d'Angoulême to appear before the French tribunal as defender in the suit. The code of procedure allowed her four months in which to prepare for the momentous trial ; and it was suggested in the columns of *La Justice* that possibly the noble lady would let the matter go by default, although it was hoped that she would be sufficiently impressed with the plaintiff's conduct to acknowledge that such bravery must be based upon innocence and the consciousness of a righteous cause. She would surely recognise the wide difference between those other impostors, who carefully kept out of the way of the civil power, and this claimant, who appealed to the laws of the

nation, and implored his sister to accept him as her brother, if the proofs should be found incontestible, and to unmask him as a deceiver, if he should fail to convince his judges.

Naundorff's demand for a legal trial was a cunning device to prejudice the people in his favour. Unthinking persons would naturally say, "If he is willing to submit his case to such thorough investigation, he must have right on his side"; and that is precisely the effect that Naundorff wanted to produce. He knew well enough that such a process as he pretended to desire could not in the nature of things ever come to pass, and that to cite the Duchess d'Angoulême to appear before a public court to listen to any rogue or madman who might announce himself as her brother would be an insult which no honourable advocate would consent to inflict upon the unhappy exile. Undoubtedly he would have been glad of a chance to tell his story and plead his cause before a multitude of excitable Frenchmen, trusting to his imposing figure, his well-studied eloquence, his bewildering mass of circumstantial material, to gain over public sentiment to his side; but he must have known that he had no satisfactory proofs to offer, and that his glib recital would break down utterly under intelligent cross-examination, just as his written narrative betrays its absurdity to the careful and critical reader.

Pending his attempts to force an entrance into the law courts, Naundorff, in order to give his judicial action publicity which should force all the sovereigns to declare their opposition, and thereby make his restoration to his rights a European event, wrote a manifesto, which he sent to the various foreign powers, and also to the French Government, wherein he announced himself as the only legitimate King of France, and declared his intention to save his country from present wrongs and threatened evils, at the same time avowing his deter-

mination to place crown and sceptre at the disposition of the nation ; his own demand being merely the restoration of his name and his civil rights. He wrote also a special letter to Louis Philippe, whom he addressed as his "cousin," informing him that he was about to appeal to the courts for the acknowledgment of his identity, and expected that the King would leave him full liberty and latitude in making use of the privileges due to his position.

A great feather in Naundorff's cap at this stage of his career was the conviction and conversion of M. Joly, Minister of State in 1792, who was present with the royal family when they appeared before the National Assembly.

In 1835, after reading the journal *La Justice*, M. Joly desired to see Naundorff, and an interview took place, during which the old gentleman became so deeply impressed with the personal appearance and remarkable declarations of the Pretender that he yielded allegiance without further demur ; and his belief was firmly established when, after examining the archives with one of Naundorff's particular friends, he found therein the record of many incidents previously unknown to him.

It seems strange that M. Joly did not see then what we see so plainly now ; namely, that if those archives were so accessible to himself and to Naundorff's friend, they could have been studied by Naundorff also.

Another unbeliever of some importance, M. Bourbon le Blanc, was converted in 1835. Having heard that Joseph Paulin had co-operated in the evasion of the Dauphin, and that he was still living in Rouen, M. le Blanc determined to visit him, and took the precaution before his departure to have an

interview with Naundorff, of whom he inquired whether he remembered the mason who in September, 1792, walled up the bolts of the door of Louis XVI.'s chamber.

"Yes, indeed," replied Naundorff; "he was a very good man, and I should enjoy seeing him if he were still alive."

Le Blanc continued,—

"A great many stories have been told about the man. It has even been asserted that he was in disguise as a mason, and was really acting as a secret agent of the royal family." Whereupon Naundorff rejoined,—

"He was a faithful friend, devoted and courageous."

Le Blanc then asked whether Naundorff remembered his name. He need not give the full name, if discretion forbade; it was enough if he would mention the two initials.

Without hesitation Naundorff traced the letters *J. P.*

Le Blanc then said that the man was still living, and he was about to visit him, and Naundorff told him to come the next day and get a letter which he wanted to send to the old man.

The letter was sealed, and as soon as Paulin saw the inscription he became very much excited, and tearing open the letter, cried out,—

"Oh! the dear child is still alive! My God! my God!"

After reading the paper, he showed Le Blanc an impression corresponding to the one upon the seal, which he took out of a drawer in his secretary. Later Naundorff visited Joseph Paulin, and had a secret conference with him of more than an hour. As a means of mutual recognition, it was related (in the form of questions and answers) that the Dauphin was present when Joseph Paulin entered the King's room, that Paulin gave three rolls of gold money to the King, that these were hidden in the handle of his hammer when he entered the Temple, and were afterwards concealed in the Dauphin's pockets.

Now, admitting this episode to be true, it does not offer a single item of convincing testimony.

If Joseph Paulin acted so important a part in the service of the friends of the royal family, those incidents must have been known to various persons, and talked about through all the intervening years, and Naundorff could have heard the whole story from his circle of devotees in Paris long before M. le Blanc took it into his head to study up the matter.

As for the seal which created so much interest, Naundorff asserts that the Dauphin's liberators caused a seal to be made bearing upon its four sides the four names : "*Hoche, Pichegru, De Frotté, Josephine.*" Later this memento came into the possession of a nephew of M. Thor de la Sonde, and he on his death-bed entrusted it to his wife, with the injunction to give it to the Dauphin if she should ever have an opportunity, together with certain papers also left in her care. When Naundorff arrived in Paris he called on M. Thor de la Sonde, whose address he had learned through the magistrate Petzold, but found only his widow, who was soon convinced of the identity of the stranger with the Dauphin, and so gave up willingly the papers and the seal.

This story is probably entirely an invention. According to one of the latest authorities concerning the Naundorff literature, De Frotté had nothing to do with the pretended evasion of the Dauphin, and if there ever was a seal bearing the four names mentioned, it may have had reference to quite a different matter. Nor is it likely that Joseph Paulin would have known about the seal, or had an impression made from it among his papers. In any case, the incident is of no value as an evidence of identity.

As a specimen of the utter foolishness of many of the argu-

ments advanced by Naundorff and his partisans, here is a conclusion formed by Gruau upon the preceding statements, and which he declares to be unanswerable, because it proves the identity before, during and after the captivity of the Dauphin, by the following facts:—

1. “M. Joly conducts ‘the watchmaker of Crossen,’ identified with the son of Louis XVI., to the door of the tower of the Temple.

2. Joseph Paulin effects his escape.

3. Joseph Paulin and the widow of Thor de la Sonde’s nephew recognise him in Paris.

What chance is there here for deception? None!”

1. Now, all M. Joly knew was that more than forty years before he had seen the Dauphin.

2. According to Naundorff’s own story, Joseph Paulin did not free the Dauphin; he carried away another boy by mistake.

3. Paulin did not know the Dauphin well enough to recognise him after more than forty years, and the wife of Thor de la Sonde’s nephew had never seen the Dauphin.

During the year 1835, Naundorff wrote letters to Louis Philippe, the Queen, the Archbishop and other personages of importance, letters which display extravagant self-conceit, if not positive madness. He dealt in prophecy also, and warned crowned heads of threatened annihilation by means of explosive machines, which, in view of his previous dabbling with such destructive materials and his later skill in the construction of bombs, would seem to have been devised by his own restless and revengeful brain.

He heard a voice which told him that the Emperor of Russia was in danger; and foreseeing a great calamity impending over

Louis Philippe, he thus apostrophized himself as the King's protector :—

August 18, 1835.

“ Son of the Martyr-King !

“ The day of trouble is near and the safety of the King of— is given into thy hands. The Lord commands thee to repeat what He has said : ‘ He will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children unto the fourth generation.’ No person can escape His judgments ; for vengeance is His.

“ But thou, thou shalt be the protecting genius of thy country, and thine enemies shall tumble in the dust. This is why I order thee to make known to the King of the French that a new machine destined to put an end to his reign is already constructed, and seditious persons intend to put it into action when the right time comes. But the King of kings, sole Sovereign of all nations, has ordered otherwise. This is why thou shalt receive this knowledge, and with it the power necessary to destroy thine enemies and the enemies of King Philippe. It is thus that his name should be written, and under this title he must answer for his deeds before the throne of the Eternal. Fulfil thy mission without fear.”

Naundorff's letters to Louis Philippe and his Queen are full of warnings respecting plots and revolutions ; and if they were really sent and delivered, it is no wonder if the royal family began to regard the Pretender with suspicion as a dangerous intriguer and would-be instigator of such disorders as he took upon himself to predict.

In this connection, an incident related with great unctiousness by his biographer illustrates the habitual temper of his mind towards the then occupant of the throne of France. Gruau

informs us that on one occasion a person not at all disposed to believe in the royal origin of the Pretender was vanquished entirely by the expression of Naundorff's glance. This unknown convert was passing in front of the Tuileries when he happened to see approaching a hack containing Naundorff, who, as he drove by, threw a look at the residence of Louis Philippe, a look which could have been given by the son of Louis XVI. alone! This remark having been repeated to Naundorff, he acknowledged that, with a hasty gesture and an annihilating glance, he had put his head out of the carriage window, saying to himself,—

“Prince, I will make you pay dear for the use of that palace!”

Fortunately for all concerned, the persons upon whom Naundorff was dependent, although foolishly credulous and blindly enthusiastic, were respectable, law-abiding citizens, who were able to prevent any decisive outbreak on his part; although it is easy to read between the lines of his biographer that he gave his partisans a good deal of trouble, and on more than one occasion showed a disposition to ally himself with individuals and with companies who desired to proceed to overt acts of insubordination against the existing Government.

Early in 1836, Naundorff sent a confidential agent, M. Xavier Laprade, an advocate and a brother of Abbé Laprade, to Berlin, to make a formal demand for the papers which he had all along asserted to have been lent by him to the Chief of Police, and unlawfully detained by the Prussian Government. Laprade made the request in due form, and, although he could not obtain the desired interview with the Crown Prince, he was treated with sufficient consideration by the Minister to whose department the matter belonged. This official declared

that the King of Prussia did not know whether the claimant was the son of Louis XVI. or not; that he first heard of his pretensions in 1829, by means of a memoir sent from Crossen; that he had nothing to do with any alleged persecution against Naundorff in judicial affairs, and that the papers claimed by Naundorff, and which he asserted to be secreted in the King's private cabinet, had never been there at all.

The fact that the King of Prussia received the memoir sent to him by Naundorff from Crossen seems to show that Naundorff did not write to him before, as he pretended to have done. It shows at least that if Naundorff had lent important papers to the Chief of Police and the Prime Minister, and had announced himself to them as the Dauphin of France, those functionaries would not have ventured to keep the matter a secret from the King. And yet the King never heard of Naundorff until the reception of the Crossen memoir. The Minister added that even if such documents could be found, their contents would not prove the identity of Naundorff, for he might have known the real Dauphin, and assassinated him, in order to get possession of the papers.

This reasonable suggestion was viewed by Laprade as a sure proof that the Prussian Cabinet knew very well what was in those papers, and still possessed them, either in the original or in copy.

It must be remembered that when Naundorff told the story at first he said that LeCoq took only one paper; later he spoke of several papers, and finally he made it appear as though there were documents enough to explain the mystery to the satisfaction of the whole world.

The Minister's argument was a sound one: the papers, even if they existed, were not enough to settle the question

of identity ; and Naundorff's way of accounting for them was highly apochryphal.

The Minister (M. Rochow) closed the interview by saying :

“ I do not affirm that this man is not the Dauphin ; but I acknowledge frankly that I should not like to see him recognised as such, because his recognition now would be the disgrace of all the monarchies of Europe.”

Laprade and his party made great capital also out of this remark, not perceiving that if the Prussian Government had really been guilty of the evil deeds charged against it by Naundorff, the Minister would not have spoken so freely.

His words explain the case with regard to the real Dauphin.

When Louis XVIII. committed the crime of setting aside his nephew, it is not likely that any royal personage, unless it was his brother, afterwards Charles X., knew of the design or of its consummation ; although the general suspicion that the Dauphin was not dead affected diplomacy sufficiently to make the reigning sovereigns of Europe refuse to recognise Louis XVIII. as anything more than Regent. Probably the principal rulers knew the truth at a later period ; but for the sake of the public peace and for their own sakes it would not do to make the story known.

Eleazer Williams was rendered unfit to rule by his education, his religion and his marriage, and the discovery of his uncle's treachery would have raised such a storm of disgust and hatred among the people as to place every crowned head in danger.

The united and determined opposition of all these royal “ cousins ” to the claims of the various pretenders, and especially to the obstinately followed and long-continued demands of Naundorff and his heirs, is a proof that the identity of the

Dauphin was and is known to the principal Governments of Europe, and that the secret has been carefully guarded in the interests of diplomatic policy.

Gruau asserts that in September, 1835, at the Congress of Teplitz, the sovereigns talked of declaring war against France, and placing the Duke de Bordeaux on the throne, in order to get rid of the usurper, Louis Philippe; but he, informed of that intention, notified them that even if they succeeded in their plan, the Duke de Bordeaux would not be legitimate, because the son of Louis XVI. was still alive. Naundorff and his party claim this declaration for their own use; but if Louis Philippe ever made such a statement, it shows that even then he knew the secret which six years later he revealed to Eleazer Williams through his son, Prince de Joinville.

The story of the hidden casket being a strong point in the Naundorff argument, it is necessary to give the subject a thorough examination.

In 1830, three years before Naundorff's arrival in Paris, the newspapers of the day mentioned the discovery near the Tuileries of a box containing money and valuables, which was supposed to have been secreted just before the outbreak of the Revolution. Of course this incident was widely discussed, and Naundorff, when he came, was duly informed of it. Later, in 1836, he began to talk about a box which Louis XVI. hid in the Tuileries (not "near" the Tuileries) in the presence of the Dauphin alone, and which, consequently, could be discovered by nobody but himself.

Naundorff says that during the short existence of his paper, *La Justice*, he published in it an open letter to Louis Philippe, requesting permission to search in the Tuileries for

this hidden treasure, and to retain possession of the box and its contents when found. He says also that the article occasioned a visit from an aide-de-camp of the King, who told him that he would probably be allowed to hunt for the casket, on condition of giving up to the Government whatever papers it might contain. Naundorff indignantly rejected this proposition, whereupon the officer declared that his visit was not an official one, and that the suggestion was entirely his own, the King knowing nothing of the intended interview.

It having been remarked to Naundorff that perhaps the box found in 1830 was the one he meant, he said that could not be, because the casket concealed by the King was inside the palace. He added that he trembled for France if the real treasure had already been found, because among the papers were several of the greatest importance concerning French politics with reference to the crown of Spain.

As though the Dauphin, then only seven years old, would have been initiated by his father into the mysteries of national diplomacy, or could have remembered such information if it had been imparted to him!

Moreover, he adds that the letter in *La Justice* was seen by M. de Bremond, formerly private secretary to Louis XVI., who, since the death of his royal master, had been living in Switzerland.

Being too old to travel, he invited Naundorff to visit him at his château in Semsales, Canton Fribourg, and Naundorff accepted the invitation. M. de Bremond was soon convinced of Naundorff's identity, and became one of his most ardent and useful supporters, believing everything that the Pretender chose to tell him about his early experiences, and resting his faith firmly upon what appeared to him the unanswerable

testimony afforded by Naundorff's knowledge of the hidden documents.

Now it is possible that Naundorff's account of the article in *La Justice* is true; but his statement concerning the letter to Louis Philippe and the visit of the King's aide-de-camp rests entirely upon his own assertion. It is certain that his friend and biographer knew nothing about the matter; for in 1838, when the London papers were discussing the supposed discovery of the box in 1830, M. Gruau asked Naundorff whether he had ever heard of such an incident, and Naundorff then told him that in 1835 he had applied to Louis Philippe for permission to search for the box, and had received a visit from the King's aide-de-camp, who required a promise that in case of Naundorff finding the treasure he should give up to the Government whatever papers the box might contain, which promise Naundorff refused to make, thereby losing all chance of being allowed to investigate the matter.

Naundorff, in 1838, did not say that his request to Louis Philippe was made in print; and if it had been, it is strange that Gruau should not have seen it, for it was reading *La Justice* that made of him a convert to the Pretender's claims.

Also De Bremond in his legal testimony does not speak of having seen such an article, although he mentions the fact that Naundorff visited him in Switzerland.

Naundorff's account of the hidden casket is, as usual, contradictory and improbable. He says that only three persons knew of its existence,—the Dauphin, M. de Briges and M. de Bremond,—and that the Dauphin alone was aware of what the box contained, and where it was secreted, and how to open it with a key made by Louis XVI. himself.

But in M. de Bremond's testimony, given under oath before a legal court in Vevay in 1837, he swore that his knowledge of the treasure consisted in the fact that while acting as private secretary to Louis XVI., he had sent word to the King through the Minister of Internal Affairs, M. de Monciel, that the iron safe which held the private papers might be discovered in troublous times, and therefore it would be better to remove the most important documents to a safer place; whereupon M. de Monciel reported that the King told him he had already done this, having made a hiding-place in the presence of his son alone, and placed in it authentic documents for the direction of his son's conduct in case of his own death.

There was no mention of De Briges in this statement; and De Monciel, who gave the information to De Bremond, is not included by Naundorff among the persons entrusted with the secret. Moreover, there was nothing said about a box or a key. Monciel's words imply a secret place, probably a hole in the wall, and De Bremond accepted the rest on Naundorff's assertion alone. Naundorff never mentioned the subject till long after his arrival in Paris, where he might easily have heard of the secreted treasure, although no one but himself would have ventured to improvise its contents. It is not likely that either M. de Monciel or M. de Bremond kept strict silence upon this interesting fact. They must often have discussed the matter with sympathizing friends, and wondered where those papers might have been hidden, and Naundorff could have heard the story from various sources, long before he discussed it with De Bremond.

Immediately after Naundorff's return from Switzerland, where De Bremond had encouraged him in his plan of presenting his case before the courts for trial, the necessary

preliminaries were arranged, and the Duchess d'Angoulême formally cited to appear before the French tribunal as defender in the suit instituted by her "brother" as plaintiff, for the establishment of his royal rights and titles.

In this document Naundorff gives his name as "*Louis-Charles*," instead of "*Charles-Louis*"; and his biographer explains the change by saying that, as the Duke of Normandy since the time of the false declaration of his decease had been known only under the name of "*Louis-Charles*," it was necessary to give that address in a legal document, reserving for a later occasion during the trial the revelation which the Prince expected to offer as a proof of his identity concerning the order of his names at the time of his baptism and the reason for the adoption of his second cognomen.

But this wonderful bit of information was not destined to be vouchsafed to the world in so dramatic a manner. The document was prepared June 13, 1836, and two days afterwards Naundorff's chamber in Madame Rambaud's house was entered at an early hour by five policemen, who arrested the Pretender and took possession of his papers.

Naundorff sent a friend to summon his advocate M. Gruau, who soon arrived, accompanied by his brother and M. Morel de St. Didier. Gruau protested against the action of the police; but he was shown the signature of the Prefect, and the work went on. The five policemen stood around the writing-table in order to secure the papers; but Gruau says that the Prince, nothing daunted, went among them and took from a drawer the seal, called the Evasion seal, and a portfolio containing the documents necessary to prove his identity, the papers which his enemies had so many times tried to secure. These things he carried to Gruau, put the seal into his pocket, and hid the portfolio in his vest; whereupon Gruau buttoned

his overcoat, crossed his arms, and walked up and down the room, giving at last a sign to his brother, who went with him into an adjoining chamber, and carried off the precious deposits to a place of safety, leaving Gruau to return to his persecuted master.

The absurdity of this narration is obvious. If the police were sent to get the papers which Naundorff's enemies had long been endeavouring to secure, and if they stood, five of them, around a small table to protect its contents, it is not likely that they would allow the man already under arrest to select the most important documents and give them to one of his adherents for safe keeping.

Naundorff was imprisoned a month at the police-office, during which time his friends appealed to the Government for his release, on the ground of unlawful detention; but their attempts were of no avail, and Naundorff was banished from France July 16, 1836, and sent under guard to Calais, from whence he embarked for England, accompanied by the Marquis de la Ferriere and the brother of M. Gruau, and Gruau followed soon afterwards, and attached himself permanently to the Pretender's destiny.

Gruau says that Naundorff's friends were devoted, but poor, and that he defrayed the expense of the chaise which carried Naundorff to the seaport, as otherwise Naundorff and the two policemen would have been obliged to go on foot, a statement which does not sound probable. At all events it is plain that Naundorff, from the time of his assumption of the *rôle* of Prince in Crossen to the day of his death, more than twelve years afterwards, lived upon the charity of his followers; and an immense sum it must have cost them, when all the circumstances of that career of adventure are considered!

Just as M. Gruau was about to leave France he received a letter from the Marquis de la Feuillade, of the ancient Princes d'Aubusson, stating that in his youth he was a regular attendant upon the royal court, and saw the King and Queen every day. He was therefore able to bear witness that Naundorff resembled the Queen "prodigiously," and that he had also the traits and manners of Louis XVI.; and in view of the convincing proofs which had been offered, he had no doubt that Naundorff was really the son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. This was all very well, but he did not send any money; and so Gruau characterizes him as a gentleman so rich as to be almost a millionaire, but who limited his expressions of devotion to giving testimony in favour of the identity of the Prince, and sending him his Cross of the Order of St. Louis, which he did not wish to keep unless bestowed by his lawful King.

Almost immediately after Naundorff's arrival in England he notified the principal sovereigns of Europe of his forced exile. The Crown Prince of Prussia and the Emperor of Austria made no reply to his letters; the Ambassador of Russia and the Prime Minister of England informed him that such letters could not be forwarded to their respective sovereigns.

In the great world of London Naundorff's arrival was scarcely noticed. The presence of one pretender, more or less, made no sensation in that mass of humanity, especially as at that time two other men (Richemont and Meuve) claiming the same title were there before him.

One noble family, the Percivals of Ealing, became converted to a belief in the new Duke of Normandy; and although not rich themselves, they showed their faith by their works in contributing generously to his mundane wants.

After becoming convinced that he had nothing to expect from the English Government, Naundorff's next step was to publish a history of his wrongs and sufferings under the title of "*Abrégé des Infortunes du Dauphin, fils de Louis XVI.*," two hundred and fifty copies of which work were sent secretly to France and sold there, but later packages are asserted by Gruau to have been detained at the custom-house and confiscated by the police.

Gruau, also, wrote many articles for the London newspapers, and made every effort to keep Naundorff's affairs before the public; but in reality very few persons knew of Naundorff's existence, and those who did know did not trouble themselves to investigate the matter.

In October, 1837, the Tribunal of Paris sent a request through the French Ambassador in Switzerland for the legal examination of M. de Bremond, concerning his knowledge of the Pretender, Naundorff. He was especially required to impart all the information in his possession respecting the rescue of the Dauphin from the Temple, the persons concerned in that enterprise, and the places where the Dauphin was concealed; in short, he was to give a full account, so far as his own knowledge extended, of the event which seemed to be entirely contradicted by all the official acts of that epoch, and by all historical documents of later publication.

Accordingly, M. de Bremond was examined before the court of Vevay, and his testimony is given at length by Gruau as conclusive proof of Naundorff's identity; whereas, in reality, it is fatal to Naundorff's pretensions. In the course of the examination it came out that De Bremond, while private secretary to the King, had seen the Dauphin a few times, but had never spoken to him. Of course, then, his recognition of

Naundorff on the score of resemblance went for nothing, not to speak of the difficulty, under any circumstances, of finding again a child of seven years in a man of fifty years of age.

With regard to the "*cachette*"—the secret place where Louis XVI. deposited certain important papers in the presence of the Dauphin alone—all that De Bremond knew was what he was told by the Minister of Internal Affairs, De Monciel, who said that the King had made such a hiding-place in the presence of the Dauphin; but there was no mention of a box, nor of a secret lock, nor of money and jewels, nor of papers about the Spanish succession. All those particulars were added by Naundorff.

Also, M. de Bremond knew nothing about the evasion at the time of that event. He did not know that such a step was contemplated; he did not know that it was effected, and it was not till years afterwards that he heard of the Dauphin's escape; consequently, he knew nothing of the Dauphin's whereabouts, until he was convinced by Naundorff's narration that he must be the lost Prince.

In reply to direct questions, De Bremond declared that he did not know the name of the woman who took care of the Dauphin after his escape, nor the name of the man who, Naundorff asserted, would be able to prove at the proper time that he was the person who gave the Dauphin into the charge of General Charette, nor the name of the French officer who would be ready to take his oath that he knew in 1797 of the existence of the Duke of Normandy, that he received new proofs of the fact at a later date in Prussia, and that the Duchess d'Angoulême had once told him she was not sure of her brother's death in prison.

With regard to Naundorff's papers, he knew only what Naundorff had told him about them—namely, that they were

held by the Prussian Government; and he had read in Naundorff's printed memoirs that he was in possession of a copy of a Latin document signed by Pope Pius VI., the original having been stated by M. Laprade to be existent in the archives of Rome.

With regard to the hidden casket, he had been told by Naundorff that he possessed the key to the box, both box and key having been made by Louis XVI.

This testimony respecting M. de Bremond's direct connection with Naundorff is very curious. It is strange that De Bremond did not perceive how unsatisfactory was the information vouchsafed him. But he was very old, and having once accepted the astounding fact of the Dauphin's rescue, he was easily blinded as to the details of the event.

To us at this distance the matter looks very different.

Naundorff went from Paris to Switzerland expressly to meet that aged and honourable gentleman, formerly a confidential secretary of the murdered King, and always a devoted adherent of the cause of the Legitimist party. There was every reason for placing implicit trust in this good man, and no reason for withholding any item of information which could assist Naundorff's designs.

Nevertheless, we see that Naundorff did not tell many important particulars which he emphasized in his printed records; he did not show the key that he pretended to possess, nor a single one of the papers he was so willing to exhibit before a court of inquiry.

It is noticeable that M. de Bremond did not seem to realize how damaging his statements were to Naundorff's pretensions, and he showed throughout the most perfect confidence in the integrity of the "Prince," and an unwavering belief in the whole absurd story.

In October, 1837, just before De Bremond was summoned before the court, Naundorff wrote from London a new batch of particulars respecting the secret casket. He said it contained, besides the valuable political papers, and the jewels, and money already mentioned, a pair of bracelets, which bore an incontestible mark of the Dauphin's identity (Naundorff says "*my identity*"). The bracelets were not described, and De Bremond was charged not to tell this secret to anybody, until Naundorff's case should be tried.

The nonsense of this communication is obvious. There could not be any mark upon a pair of secreted bracelets which should be able to prove the Dauphin's identity, still less Naundorff's identity with the Dauphin.

In the course of the Vevay examination, De Bremond declared that one of the King's trusted agents to watch over the interests of the royal family in the Temple was M. Thor de la Sonde, and that in 1820 a nephew of that gentleman told M. de Bremond in Paris that in 1797 his uncle brought to the house in a private carriage a boy about eleven or twelve years old, with blonde, curly hair, and a beautiful face, whom his uncle lodged in his own chamber, and never quitted during the day. He called the stranger "*Monsieur Auguste*." He stayed there several weeks, and then took the boy away during the night, and a few days afterwards returned alone. He told his nephew at that time: "You have had the happiness to see the young Dauphin saved from the Temple. Keep the secret."

This story seemed to De Bremond a convincing proof of the authenticity of Naundorff's claims; but in reality it is a contradiction of his story.

If it was true that Thor de la Sonde carried secretly a child

to his house whom he believed to be the Dauphin, that boy certainly was not Naundorff, neither was it the boy sent by mistake through Joseph Paulin. Naundorff says he stayed for awhile in Thor de la Sonde's château ; but he went there with the Swiss-German woman, and did not see any other persons excepting ouce, when Charette and two other officers came there. It is probable that Naundorff had heard the story of Thor de la Sonde's nephew and tacked it on to his own experiences. There seems to be historical ground for believing that the Vendéean party did have at one time a boy in their charge whom they supposed to be the Dauphin, and that on discovering their mistake the matter was hushed up as quickly as possible.

The story told by Thor de la Sonde's nephew sounds apochryphal at best. He was himself only a boy at the time of the alleged occurrence, and it is not likely that his uncle would have entrusted him with a secret of such magnitude ; moreover, the date was 1797, two years after the Dauphin's escape. In any case it does not help Naundorff's narrative.

It is presumable that the report forwarded, as desired, to the French tribunal was examined with judicial acumen, and its worthlessness amply demonstrated to the parties concerned, for no further steps were taken in that direction, and Naundorff remained as before under the ban of the police as an impostor.

Meantine De Bremond kept up a correspondence with his "dear Prince," and told him many things about his former connection with the royal court. He repeated in full the story which Naundorff had heard before about the secret box in which Louis XVIII. kept his memoirs, the record of his relations with Martin, a note respecting Louis XVII., corres-

ponding to a paper found among Robespierre's effects, and a charge to his brother D'Artois (Charles X.) to give up the throne to the rightful heir. De Bremond was told this story by a responsible person in 1820; and as he believed in the continued existence of the Dauphin, he prepared a memorial on the subject, which he wished to present to Count d'Artois, but was dissuaded from such a step because his argument was not sustained by sufficient proof, and the result would only be that he would ruin himself without helping the cause. So he changed his tactics, and spoke to D'Artois about the casket, portraying the necessity of his keeping himself informed of the plans of the King, and suggesting a private examination of the important papers. D'Artois consented, on condition that President Seguier approved of the project. But Seguier did not approve, and the matter was allowed to drop. However, De Bremond, in 1824, having occasion to transact business in the interest of Count d'Artois with Franchet, Director of the Police, spoke of the casket, and begged Franchet to find out whether the box was still in the King's cabinet, and if so, to take measures to prevent any one carrying it away. Franchet reported that the box was there; and on the death of Louis XVIII. he told De Bremond that he had sent it to the new King. According to other accounts, it was given to M. de Villèle, who sent for M. de Peyronnet to assist him in reading the papers and determining upon their value; and they afterwards appealed to Cardinal de Latil for his advice, their own opinion being that it was the duty of D'Artois to proclaim Louis XVII. as the rightful King. The Cardinal opposed this decision. He declared that Louis XVII. was not known to be alive, that his death had been legally attested, that the papers in question were evidently a miserable invention of the late King for the purpose of compromising his

brother and the whole nation, that Charles X. was recognised as the lawful successor of his brother, and ought to be proclaimed without delay, leaving the question of his nephew's claim to be decided by himself. And this was done.

De Bremond's letters to Naundorff contained also much information respecting the private property of the Crown, which belonged by right to the Dauphin, and which Naundorff had shown from the beginning a great eagerness to appropriate to himself. In all his propositions to the French Government he had stipulated for his name and his money, professing to be willing to resign the labours and dangers of the Crown to whomsoever the French nation might choose to accept as their sovereign.

According to De Bremond, there was, in 1815, a capital of three hundred and seven millions of francs, which, being invested in foreign lands, yielded interest to the amount of nine millions. In 1820 the interest was worth seven or eight millions; and the Duchess d'Angoulême was accused of having amassed a large fortune, for the purpose of securing the throne for her husband, through the assistance of Germany and Russia. De Bremond lived in the pious hope of the ultimate conversion of the Duchess to Naundorff's cause, and her consequent willingness to share her wealth with her unfortunate "brother"; and he reminded Naundorff that, if God intended him to be put in possession of a sufficient army, that army was in the pockets of his august "sister." The immense property belonging to the royal family was said to be managed by the Duke de Blacas, the confidential agent of Charles X., who, with Cardinal de Latil, was under the direction of Metternich, and devoted to the interests of the usurping branch, in opposition to the rights of Louis XVII., of whose existence they were well aware.

All this may be true, but it has nothing to do with Naundorff.

If these men were knowing to the secret of the abduction of the Dauphin, they knew that Naundorff was not the man.

De Bremond, on the other hand, believed in the evasion, but was ignorant of the means employed, as well as of the destination chosen; consequently, he was easily deceived as to the identity of the Dauphin, and blamed the incredulity of persons better informed respecting that past event. He made heroic efforts in Naundorff's behalf, and wrote long accounts of his own and other persons' loyal endeavours to benefit his "dear Prince."

The friends in France were active also; many arrests and police visitations being made during the year 1837 among Naundorff's known partisans, on account of suspected plots against the Government.

In July, 1837, Naundorff became conspicuous for a few days in London gossip through the seizure of a packet of letters sent to him by his family in Dresden, and supposed, by the person reading them, to contain a plot against the life of Louis Philippe. An official examination of such of the papers as were unsealed proved the injustice of this charge, and the packet was sent to its address, with the sealed letters undisturbed. The inquisitive person who opened the parcel had been alarmed by finding expressions of intense loyalty to the person and rights of the lawful King of France, etc., etc.

A few days later a passenger on the boat running between England and France was arrested at Havre for carrying a trunk with a false bottom, wherein were concealed several proclamations addressed by Naundorff to the people of France and to various royal personages.

On examination of the papers by officials of the Government the contents were pronounced "harmless," and the prisoner was released. The biographer gives these proclamations in full. The following translation of one of them will show that the French Government was sufficiently lenient with regard to Naundorff's affairs, he being probably considered in France, as he was in Prussia, a monomaniac upon the subject of his pretended royal origin. The papers are severally addressed: "To my Friends in France;" "To the French Nation;" "To the Sovereigns of Europe;" "To the Prince Royal of Prussia;" "To the Archduke John of Austria;" "To the Judge of Instruction, Zangiacomi."

Here is the letter addressed

"To my Friends in France."

"It is I, the undersigned, who, thinking only of my country, have saved three times the life of Louis Philippe; not to confirm him in his usurpation, but to give him time, by order of Providence, to save his soul and secure the salvation of his children, by rendering to me the justice which is my due. He has remained in the ways of iniquity. The day of grace, in which he might have repaired his crimes and his injustice, is past. In vain would he make such efforts now; his hour is come, and the punishment of his faults will follow him henceforth to the tomb.

"It is not I who am to be the rod of God; for crime will be punished by crime, and innocence alone shall triumph.

"Moreover, the actual King of the French is neither Bourbon nor Orleans; therefore that sham royalty placed, by intrigue, upon the throne of my fathers becomes null and void. And because the Orleans branch is extinct, France, whose deliverance is approaching, will recover the treasures which this

impostor has stolen from the country. His family will be banished in their turn and for ever. Let no one suppose that all these changes will take place peaceably. Many persons who have participated in crime will perish at the hands of the people, and none of those condemned by the judgment of God shall escape His vengeance. Before many days I shall appear to save France from anarchy. Until then I order those persons who are my friends, and the true friends of the nation, to remain quiet and take no part in public events. My orders concerning the future will be given to them at the proper time."

It must be admitted that the French Government treated Naundorff with great leniency, in view of the frequent provocations offered by himself and his supporters. In these published manifestos he absolved the French people from all obligations to obey the commands of their spurious ruler, and he lost no opportunity of insulting the King in private. His assertion that Louis Philippe was not a Bourbon, nor an Orleans, nor even a Frenchman, had reference to the apparently well authenticated story that the supposed eldest son of "Egalité" was really the offspring of Lorenzo Chiappini, an Italian peasant, the substitution having been made in consequence of the expected child of "Egalité" proving to be a girl. The supposed daughter of Chiappini grew up and married a British nobleman, Lord Newborough, and later, a German nobleman, Baron Ungern-Sternberg. Chiappini revealed the secret to her on his death-bed, and she tried to establish her claim, but was overpowered by the influence of Louis Philippe, and died poor and neglected in Paris in 1844.

The later sons of Egalité were genuine, and his wife, a woman of exceptionally noble character, was not a party to

the fraud. But he was quite capable of such conduct, and there seems to be no doubt that the accusation was well-founded.

In accordance with the testimony of many striking facts, the respective traits, physical and mental, of Maria Stella and Louis Philippe bear out the theory of substitution.

The supposed daughter of Lorenzo Chiappini bore no resemblance in appearance or character to her reputed parents, but when she came among people familiar with the Bourbon type, her likeness to the Orleans family was conspicuous. Even the disease which tainted her blood was the same that disfigured the otherwise handsome face of Philippe Egalité, and that the poison was inherited is proved by the fact that she transmitted it to at least one of her children. Moreover, the stately carriage and commanding air for which she was especially noted, as also the inborn taste for all the arts and graces which colour so deeply the associations of families of high rank, were qualities not to be expected of the daughter of an Italian peasant, particularly when it is remembered that her infancy was passed in the fear and shyness of an unloved child at the mercy of coarse and cruel guardians.

That Maria Stella's revelations were not unheeded by the world at large, and that her story was generally believed to be true, is shown by a verse in the celebrated "*Dies iræ*" of the Italian poet Giusti, written in 1835. That poem is a powerful satire directed against royal tyranny and usurpation. Every sentence is an epitome of history, and the verse alluded to would never have found a place in such a production unless the writer had been sure that his implication would be understood. It is as follows :—

“ Il Chiappini si dispera,
E grattandosi la pera,
Pensa a Carlo Decimo.”

“ And Chiappini in despair,
Scratching anxiously his pear,
Thinks of Charles the Tenth.”

The word “pear” refers to Louis Philippe’s well-known pear-shaped head.

As for Louis Philippe, the troublesome contradictions between his character and his station are made intelligible under the supposition that he was not “native and to the manner born.”

No student of physiognomy can consider his face a repetition of the family type, although his features and expression were necessarily modified by his training and associations. His *bourgeois* tendencies and habits, too, which were a continual source of mortification to the artificial beings that surrounded him, were perfectly natural and proper in the son of Lorenzo Chiappini, and the alternate blunt honesty and unscrupulous deceit which characterized his essays at royal authority, disturbing the complications of official routine and striking diplomacy dumb, serve still further to betray the sly and simple Italian peasant, misplaced upon a throne.

It was probably a satisfaction to Naundorff, in view of his own character as impostor, to be able to say to Louis Philippe, “*You’re another!*” although it was an aggravation to witness the temporary prosperity of his rival.

But the two cases were widely different. Louis Philippe was brought up as a royal prince, and was not responsible for his father’s crime, of which, perhaps, he never heard until “*Maria*

Stella's" revelation was made public, and which, probably, he did not believe to be a fact.

Naundorff's partisans impeach also the legitimacy of Count de Chambord (Henri V.), on the ground that his father, the Duke de Berri, was privately married to Amy Brown, an English girl, during his exile, and that the marriage was still in force when he wedded Princess Marie Caroline, daughter of the King of the Two Sicilies.

Naundorff's letters to the various royalties were in the same vein of prophecy and threat, containing besides a wearisome repetition of the writer's assertions respecting his origin and his boasts of the proofs which he held in his possession, and which he would reveal only before a public tribunal.

During his residence in England, Naundorff made several attempts to plead his cause before the French Parliament; but the new deputies, as well as the old, rejected his petitions, and refused to allow him to return to France.

The report of the commission of February, 1837, contains a record of the opinion of Parliament upon the subject, as follows:—

"M. Charles-Louis, calling himself the Duke of Normandy, now in London, makes complaint that he was arbitrarily expelled from France, and demands to be allowed to return. The petitioner practised for several years the trade of watch-making in Prussia; he came to France animated by evil intentions; the Government, in banishing him, gave proof of moderation and wisdom. The commission proposes to pass to the order of the day. Adopted."

Naundorff next attempted to influence public opinion by sending printed copies of his petition to a number of the

deputies ; but the package was seized at the frontier, and although Naundorff informed several of the principal members of the sending of the document, no notice was taken of the circumstance.

All this while Naundorff's family, consisting of his wife and six children, were living comfortably in Dresden, "abundantly supplied with pecuniary means by believing friends in France," as a later German convert records ; and Naundorff, in London, was able to send his eldest daughter a cheque for eight thousand francs, in a letter full of the old harping upon his royal reminiscences and his affection for his "unnatural sister."

About this time Naundorff's wife abjured Protestantism and became a Catholic ; his children also were re-baptized as members of the national Church of France.

In August, 1837, the Naundorff family were informed officially that their permission to reside in Saxony would not be renewed ; and consequently they removed to Switzerland, where M. de Bremond rented for them, at his own expense, the Château of Grand Clos, near Villeneuve, on Lake Lemán, the property of a Swiss family, who still retain possession of the place.

Naundorff's party ascribe this expulsion to the political intrigues of Prussia and Austria, and emphasize their assertion that the official order designated Naundorff as "Charles-Louis, Duke of Normandy, calling himself Charles William Naundorff, watchmaker of Crossen," instead of "Charles William Naundorff, watchmaker of Crossen, calling himself Charles-Louis, Duke of Normandy." If this be true, it only proves that the secretary who made out the order believed Naundorff's story, as he is said to have done. In any case, it would

not prove Naundorff's identity, and it is certain that the royal family of Saxony considered Naundorff as an impostor, and were annoyed at the frequent attempts to bring his affairs into public notice.

Soon after the arrival of the family in Switzerland it became necessary to regulate the passport of Mrs. Naundorff, which was originally Prussian, and which the Government of Saxony had merely *viséed*. On applying to the Prussian authorities the answer was that, as Naundorff had left Prussia several years before, with the intention of never returning, and as his wife had given up the home in Crossen, and removed to a foreign land, there was no occasion for renewing the old Prussian passport, nor for granting another.

A Dresden correspondent of a Paris newspaper, commenting upon the departure of the Naundorff family, stated that they had gone to Switzerland, where they had acquired a large property; and another writer stated that the family had chosen the Château of Grand Clos, near Villeneuve, in Switzerland, for their place of refuge, and that Naundorff's revenues had augmented in a very remarkable manner. It is evident that Naundorff's party tried to make this forced removal as much as possible like a Royal Progress, and M. Gruau speaks of Grand Clos as a residence almost regal in its appointments. That is a great exaggeration. It is in reality a fine old house adjoining a plain farmhouse. It contains several handsome rooms, and has for many years been rented to foreigners, the owner and his family preferring to live in the farmhouse close by. Naundorff's family did not "choose" that asylum; it was offered to them by M. de Bremond, whose generous assistance, during their stay there of less than a year, cost him *sixty thousand francs*!

It was a newspaper report that Naundorff was to join his family in this retreat, and he says he received several propositions from real or pretended friends, who offered to secure a large sum of money for his support if he would give up his pretensions to the throne of France, and promise to live in quiet retirement for the rest of his days. One offer professed to come from an agent of the King, and promised the restitution of the casket hidden in the Tuileries, with a million of francs for the payment of his debts and a million for revenue as an acknowledged French Prince; but to all these enticements Naundorff turned a deaf ear, and struck attitudes and quoted the famous, "*All is lost except honour,*" etc. He and his friends suspected a snare in these proposals, as they were also wary in the presence of a mysterious French nobleman, who came to London to present his allegiance and hovered around the "Prince" for a considerable time, being probably a spy.

It remains to be proved whether the propositions alluded to were really offered. It is extremely improbable that Louis Philippe ever made any overtures to Naundorff, still less would he have acknowledged him to be the son of Louis XVI., knowing, as he undoubtedly did, the true history of the Dauphin's abduction.

Naundorff's family quitted Grand Clos towards the end of 1838, and went to London, where a large house was taken for them in Camberwell, Naundorff and Gruau still retaining their former apartment in Clarence Place, close by, until the new home should be in order. Just before quitting the residence in Clarence Place, Naundorff was shot at and wounded in the garden at night. The would-be assassin was alleged

to have been a Frenchman who had recently appealed for charity and had received hospitality and assistance from Naundorff; but it was freely asserted and generally believed that Naundorff had shot himself, or been shot by his friends, in order to sustain the theory of persecution, and cause Naundorff to become the subject of attention and discussion in London, where he was in danger of being entirely overlooked and forgotten.

There was a sensational trial, and Naundorff did his best to inculcate the suspected French refugee; but the man was able to prove an *alibi*, and Naundorff terminated the affair by magnanimously pardoning his supposed enemy and requesting the judge to set the prisoner free, which the judge would have done without any such request. The whole story was suspicious, and Naundorff's adherents made as much ado as possible over the incident.

The wounds were very slight—two balls in the arm, which were easily extracted, and a contusion of the skin above the chest, caused by powder; yet Gruau says that two balls penetrated the left arm at the height of the heart, and the second shot struck at the heart, adding, that without the evident protection of Heaven the angust sufferer would have been instantly killed. What saved him was the surprising fact that the third ball, which would have given the mortal wound, rolled out of the sleeve of the coat when the wound was examined; and this ball had evidently not been fired! To give the escape a supernatural air, Gruau says that there was a black streak on the chest, starting from the heart and stopping at the fore-arm, corresponding to the position of the ball in the sleeve, as though to mark the direction which the ball would have taken if it had accomplished its deadly errand! Can absurdity be carried farther than this?

Mention must be made of the solemn enunciations of the "Prince" on being found wounded by his friends :—

"I pardon the assassin, whoever he may be. The persons who have sold my life to him are more guilty than he is. How ardently do I wish that my blood alone might suffice to secure the happiness of my country !"

And then he added, with sorrowful emotion :—

"Oh, my sister ! You are to blame ; you are to blame for the crimes which result from your blind obstinacy !"

Soon after this new sensation Naundorff again essayed to appear before the public, this time as the founder of a new system of religion, which he embodied in a work entitled,

La Doctrine Celeste.

The book was printed in Lyons, France, and was promptly suppressed by the authorities ; whereupon Naundorff sent a printed letter to the magistracy of Lyons, from which the following passages are extracted :—

"I, the undersigned, younger son of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, am the author of *La Doctrine Celeste* ; or, The gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ in all its primitive purity. I have ordered my friends to have it reprinted in Lyons, and to spread it abroad as much as possible in France ; not in order to excite sedition among the people, but to tranquillize my country as to its future. I have written nothing but the truth ; I call God to witness—God the Almighty, who is the Truth, and whom I adore. I have learned to know Him in the school of my misfortunes, and I am convinced that without the true religion of Jesus Christ there is no real happiness, neither for the governed nor for the governors, in any country on earth. That is why I desire

to present to the inhabitants of my native land the true source of public prosperity. However, my political enemies, always timid, because of their injustice towards me, have appealed to the King of the French, who, knowing perfectly well who I am, has considered it in accordance with his policy to order the seizure of a work which is condemned solely because it bears my name and my signature."

In March, 1840, a French journal, *Le Capitole*, devoted to the interests of Louis Napoleon, published a satirical article against *La Voix d'un Proscrit*, the monthly paper issued by Naundorff's partisans. The article summed up Naundorff's personality as that of a Polish Jew, and former prisoner, who appeared in France for the first time in 1833, not knowing a word of French, and after abjuring Judaism, was baptized by a Catholic Bishop, and finally set up for himself as founder of a new religion, which he announced by means of a flaming circular addressed to all the Archbishops and Bishops of the universe, wherein he threatened with overwhelming calamities all persons who persisted in closing their ears to his paternal and pathetic voice. The writer added that this circumcised Jew, the pretended Louis XVII., had returned to France, and was working peaceably at his former trade.

Naundorff and his friends were enraged at this attack, and determined to take measures for the legal punishment of the slanderer. Accordingly, a crusade against *Le Capitole* was organized, and two of Naundorff's followers, Laprade and Roydor, were sent to Paris to make complaint. They succeeded in inducing the editor of *Le Capitole* to insert an explanation which removed contempt from the persons concerned in the publication of the periodical, *La Voix d'un Proscrit*; but he would not enter into any public discussion of

Naundorff's identity, which was what Naundorff most desired. However, Laprade and Morel de St. Didier, and the other principal adherents of Naundorff in Paris, were satisfied, and considered it imprudent to push the matter any farther. Not so Naundorff and his chief counsellor M. Gruau. Naundorff was deaf to the remonstrances of his Parisian friends, who declared that he would only injure his cause by making a great scandal out of an insignificant slander, and Gruau posted over to Paris and opened a suit against the guilty parties, which ended in his defeat, although he was assisted by the well-known advocate Jules Favre.

This affair produced a division in the ranks of Naundorff's partisans, and added to the growing discontent of the cooler heads among them, who had for some time been suspicious as to the genuineness of their idol, they having pinned their faith principally to the prophecies of Martin and other fanatics, who foretold a terrible revolution, ending in the recognition of a great king, to be accomplished in the year 1840. Naundorff posed as the character described, and evidently believed in the fulfilment of these wonders in his favour; and his disciples believed also, and expected to share in the coming prosperity of the illustrious refugee.

But when 1840 came and passed without any grand convulsion in the political world, and Naundorff remained as he was, ignored by the public, and a pensioner upon the bounty of a few adherents, the faith of many waxed cold, and there was a great falling off in men and money. Laprade and Roydor returned from Paris and had a long explanation with Naundorff. They were not only disappointed at the non-fulfilment of the prophecies in which they had so long believed, but that failure made them distrustful of the whole story, and they demanded of Naundorff the proofs of his identity,

which he professed to hold in reserve for a public trial, although there was not the slightest probability that such an opportunity would ever be allowed him.

He finally promised to give the evidence, which should answer all their objections and remove all their doubts; but when the appointed meeting took place he contented himself with making quotations from his *Doctrine Celeste* concerning the duties of religious teachers, after which he delivered a written essay of four pages, containing severe reproaches against his hearers because of the contrast between their conduct and that of the Christian model portrayed in the discourses of Jesus Christ and in the writings of Peter and Paul.

Of course they were not satisfied, and by degrees the absurdity of their Quixotic enterprise dawned upon their minds, and led to a public recantation of their errors. As is usual in such cases, their opposition was henceforth as strong as their advocacy had previously been, and the faults and weaknesses of their *quasi-royal* chief, which had formerly passed unnoted, or been transfigured in the glory of his illustrious identity, were now freely exposed and pitilessly ridiculed. Naundorff's most devoted disciple, M. Gruau (or Count Gruau de la Barre, as he called himself after Naundorff ennobled him in 1838), came in for a share of the reproach and blame so liberally bestowed upon the master. The apostates accused him of having done far more harm than good to the cause by his imprudent zeal, especially in the matter of the recent contest with *Le Capitole*; they even declared that if he were a traitor in the disguise of a friend, a paid spy in the service of the party which had doomed the exiled "Orphan of the Temple" to destruction, he could not do more than he was doing to ruin the "Prince." His excessive devotion and the servility

which he not only practised himself, but exacted from others, in their intercourse with the "Legitimate King" made that personage ridiculous; and what more could his enemies desire?

It is a pity that some unprejudiced person could not have been on the spot to record the sayings and doings of that little band of refugees in London during the period of Naundorff's greatest prosperity.

It would be highly interesting to learn in what the "servility" complained of consisted, and by what ceremonies Naundorff converted M. Gruau into a Count, and how the members of that tiny court were wont to address their sovereign, and each other, and how Naundorff carried sail in that strong wind of flattery.

As it is, we can only now and then pick up bits of information which give an idea of the manner in which life went on in "Minerva House."

On the arrival of Naundorff's family from Switzerland, a mansion large enough to accommodate the whole party was rented in Camberwell. The family proper consisted of Naundorff, his wife and six children. Then there were M. Gruau, M. Laprade, and M. Roydor, with his wife and child, as constant guests, besides several other persons who ate regularly, or habitually, or frequently at the royal table, to say nothing of partisans coming from France and visitors belonging to various districts of the vast city of London, all of whom were doubtless entertained in regal style. To keep up such an establishment demanded much labour; consequently it is no wonder that we hear of fifteen servants being employed in the mansion at one time. Besides the necessary expenses of such a household, Naundorff was able to send his messengers hither and yon upon errands connected

with his assumed titles, and to establish partisan journals and print memoirs and scatter pamphlets on occasion.

And this money came from his believing followers, who in some cases sacrificed all that they possessed, and in others stinted themselves and their families in order that their exiled King might live in luxury. Gruau gave up his whole property, thereby incurring the lasting anger of his relatives; and we read of several other instances where considerable fortunes were joyfully laid at the feet of the supposed Louis XVII.

It seems never to have occurred to those fanatically loyal simpletons that even supposing Naundorff's story to be true, he would have been more worthy of their homage if he had supported himself and his family by honest labour while waiting for his crown, instead of setting himself up as an object of worship and compelling his adorers to pay his debts and nourish his offspring.

The disaffected members of the London coterie, seven in number, published in February, 1841, a pamphlet (in French) entitled:—

“Declarations relative to the personage pretending to be the Duke of Normandy, son of Louis XVI., known under the name of Naundorff, residing at Camberwell, near London.”

One of these men, Gozzoli, former editor of *La Voix d'un Proscrit*, returned to France, and published in May, 1841, a pamphlet in French and English entitled:—

“*Aveu d'une Erreur*,” “*Avowal of an Error*,” and containing the same kind of abuse which characterized the former production.

The author went back to the Catholic Church and devoted himself to prayer, including Naundorff and Gruau in his petition.

Laprade, another of the apostates, the same who had lived constantly with Naundorff from the time of his banishment, returned to France, and was re-converted to his former faith, becoming also a believer in a new prophet, Pierre Michael of Caen, who predicted the resurrection of the Dauphin and his terrestrial reign upon the fall of the French Republic, he being the great monarch alluded to in ancient prophecy.

Laprade retired for a time to the monastery of La Trappe de Laval, and afterwards became *curé* of a small parish in Poitou.

During Martin's life, Naundorff, although making every possible use of the prophet's influence, did not believe in his Divine inspiration ; but as soon as he was dead, Naundorff claimed that Martin's ghost appeared to him, and informed him that he had succeeded to the miraculous gift. From that time Naundorff dealt in prophecy himself, claiming to be inspired by an angel who dictated the words he uttered ; and this claim was accepted by his subservient disciples of Minerva House until the day when, after promising to reveal the long withheld proofs of identification, he proceeded to deliver the "angel's" reproofs concerning their shortcomings.

It is no wonder that his adherents, being Catholics, deserted him after he had publicly announced himself as the founder of a new religion ; the sin of schism being especially abhorrent to the spirit of the Catholic Church.

The name given by Naundorff to his youngest son, "*Ange-Emmanuel*," doubtless records the father's belief in his own alliance with an angel.

In May, 1841, an explosion occurred in the laboratory which Naundorff had fitted up in a small building adjoining his residence.

He was occupied with certain inventions of his own, when a fire broke out in a corner of the laboratory, and in trying to throw a vessel of explosive material out of the window, it caught the flame and burnt his hands and face severely.

The house was entirely destroyed, and the neighbourhood was in great alarm, because it was known that the laboratory was full of dangerous substances.

As usual, Naundorff and his disciples made capital out of this accident, and a flaming description, evidently the work of Gruau, appeared in two of the daily papers. The article was headed :—

“New and execrable attempt to assassinate the Duke of Normandy, second son of Louis XVI. and of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France;” and began as follows :—

“It is nearly four weeks since this unfortunate Prince was warned that his life was in danger; but his confidence in the Almighty is so entire that he refrained from demanding aid of the police,” etc.

Then followed a long story about his political enemies sending disguised agents to corrupt his servants and obtain access to his laboratory, where they prepared a mass of combustibles, which burst into flames after they were gone and the “Prince” had returned home.

The truth probably was that Naundorff caused the accident himself, through some carelessness in handling the inflammable materials in which he was working.

If strangers had entered the laboratory, they could not have “prepared” combustibles without setting them on fire; and as Naundorff was in the city, and the hour of his return was uncertain, they could not have regulated a slow match so as to take effect at the right time.

For that matter there is no reason to suppose that Naundorff

was ever watched, or followed, or attacked. It would have been easy to kill him, if anybody had wished to put him out of the way. The fact is, his existence was of no importance whatever, and he would have been forgotten by the world at large if he had not from time to time forced himself into public notice through burlesque catastrophes, of which the laboratory fire is an example.

In August, 1841, M. Gruau, assisted by Jules Favre as advocate, succeeded in obtaining from the French tribunal a dismissal of the accusation against Naundorff as a swindler. This decision was hailed as an acknowledgment of Naundorff's right to the titles he claimed; in reality it was only the expression of a desire to put an end to a discussion which was not worth the trouble of continuance.

In November, 1841, one of Naundorff's numerous creditors caused his arrest by declaring under oath that Naundorff was about to run away to America. Naundorff denied the charge and protested against the imprisonment. He was liberated on bail, but the accuser was not punished; and Naundorff, realizing the increasing difficulties of his situation, applied to Parliament, in his character of Legitimate King of France, for the payment of the modest sum of *two hundred and sixty-five thousand three hundred and thirty-six pounds sterling* due to Louis XVII. as the representative of the French nation, on account of ships and munitions of war delivered to the English Government at Toulon by the Royalist party in 1805, it being understood that the transfer was only a loan, to be repaid in money or in kind to the lawful King, Louis XVII. This astonishing demand met with no reply, and Gruau again waxed eloquent over the perfidy of British officials, who had

done so much to humiliate and oppress the rightful inheritor of the crown of France.

Troubles accumulated. In May, 1842, Naundorff was again arrested, and a part of his furniture was seized by an impatient creditor; other creditors followed suit (always under false oaths, according to Gruau), and before long the house was emptied of its movable goods. For two weeks the family slept upon bundles of straw, not having money enough to take lodgings elsewhere.

During this period they appealed for help to the Government Ministers, to the Queen, and to the wealthiest of the aristocracy; but in vain. At last the Ladies Percival came to their relief, and gave them the use of a house, which they occupied during the rest of their stay in England.

But these compassionate dames were not rich enough to support that large family, and for eighteen months they subsisted upon charity granted by people whom M. Gruau visited every day for new supplies.

It makes one indignant to read the account of this long period of destitution, not because of hardheartedness on the part of the native population (the fact that this great house full of refugees were lodged and fed a year and a half by strangers is a sufficient proof of neighbourhood kindness), but to think that so many healthy, able-bodied adults should sit still and be waited on so long, merely because one of them chose to imagine or pretend that he was of royal birth, and the rest of them were silly enough to believe him, and to agree with him that a royal personage must not work.

Naundorff's extreme poverty after his great prosperity shows that other persons besides his followers in London

abandoned him and his cause during the last years of his life. M. de Bremond withdrew his contributions as soon as he heard of Naundorff's apostasy, although he seems to have retained his belief in the Pretender's identity with the Dauphin.

In his case, as in that of many others, the principal ground of adherence to Naundorff was a firm conviction of the Dauphin's escape and the absence of any other equally plausible claimant.

De Bremond died before the story of Eleazer Williams was made public, and probably the surviving partisans of Naundorff never knew the circumstances; for even Delrosat, writing in 1890, mentions the event only in a footnote, after this fashion:—

“ In 1850 a new Dauphin was invented. *Le Constitutionnel* of February 8, 1850, published an article made up out of the report of a correspondent in Philadelphia (United States), and the statements of a Quaker newspaper of that city, entitled *The Friend*, containing some sort of a story about Eleazer Williams, an Indian chief, who was supposed to be the son of Louis XVI. delivered from the tyranny of Simon ! ”

In 1850 most of the persons especially interested in the Dauphin were dead, and perhaps the few still living never saw, or did not heed, that communication in *Le Constitutionnel*; but if Eleazer Williams had accepted De Joinville's proposals in 1841, the whole mystery would probably have been cleared up before the generation which witnessed the French Revolution had passed away.

Such a transaction could not have been kept secret. It is even likely that Louis Philippe would have published it himself, as his chief object in making the proposal was to strengthen

his own claim and that of his successors to the throne of France.

The story of the compass is one of the most transparent specimens of Naundorff's method of collecting and appropriating information concerning the Dauphin, and as such it deserves a full narration.

In November, 1842, a London newspaper, *The Morning Herald*, contained the following article:—

“Chevalier Auriol has just offered for sale to the French Government a small compass which has a curious history. The instrument, which is enclosed in a gilded case of English manufacture, was sent to Louis XVI. with other astronomical instruments by a descendant of Sir Isaac Newton.

“It appears that later it was given by the unfortunate monarch to the Dauphin, who had it in the Temple prison, where he gave it to a faithful servant who had assisted him in attempting to escape.

“Chevalier Auriol was a fellow student with Napoleon at Brienne, and accompanied him to Egypt. While there he happened to show the compass to Napoleon, who admired it greatly, whereupon Auriol gave it to him.

“After Napoleon became Emperor, he attached a superstitious value to that instrument, had it engraved with the letter *N* and the imperial crown, used it in all his campaigns, and kept it with him until his departure for St. Helena, when, perhaps because the talisman had failed, perhaps in recognition of the disinterested generosity of the giver, he sent it to Madame Auriol. Marshal Soult is at present in negotiation with the chevalier, with the intention of buying that royal and imperial relic, and placing it among the other objects preserved at the Hotel des Invalides as having belonged to Napoleon.”

Thus far *The Morning Herald*.

The above extract is translated from M. Gruau's French rendering, so that it is probably not exactly like the original.

The sentence respecting the presentation of the compass by the Dauphin to a faithful servant is italicized in the French copy, also it reads like an interpolation, and, all things considered, the assertion is suspicious. It would be well worth while to examine the original article, if that issue of the newspaper be still in existence.

Naundorff, who was then living in London, and whose memoirs had been published six years before, was applied to by his friends for information on the subject, and he told them it was a fact that while imprisoned in the Temple his father had given him a little compass in a box, which he should recognise immediately if it were shown to him, adding that nobody but himself and the Duchess d'Angoulême could tell how the compass was brought into the Temple. While he was hidden in the garret, his friends outside, wishing to be sure of the identity of the person they were trying to save, desired him to send them the compass, and accordingly he told Laurent to give it to them.

On being questioned further, Naundorff gave the following particulars :—

Louis XVI., fearing that the Dauphin would be separated from his family, wrote a full description of the marks upon the Dauphin's body, which paper was signed by himself and the Queen and sealed with the seal which he wore on his watch-chain. Afterwards he made a hiding-place behind a board in the wall of his room, and concealed that paper, with several others of importance. Only the Dauphin knew the secret; and a few days later the boy put the compass in the same

place, where it remained until his friends sent to know whether he was still in possession of certain objects which they knew the King had given him. Whereupon he told Laurent where the papers were hid, and said he would find there also a compass, which he was to send with the papers. He knew that those papers and also the compass were duly delivered into the hands of General Frotté, and long afterwards he received the papers from Montmorin; but the compass was not returned.

The absurdities and contradictions of this narration deprive it of all value as evidence. Naundorff said he should recognise the box instantly, if he should see it; but he did not describe it. Later, he said it was made of red morocco, but he did not mention the gilding, which was a prominent feature in the English description. Again, it is not likely that there was any mystery which only he and the Duchess understood respecting the introduction of the compass into the Temple. The royal family carried many of their possessions into captivity, and there is no reason why the compass should not have been among them. After a while, all sharp implements—razors, scissors, knives, and the King's sword—were taken away; even the knives and forks used at table were removed with the food. The compass may have gone at the same time, if it was ever in the Temple at all. Again, it is not likely that the friends outside knew anything about the compass, or about other objects given by the King to his son, and certainly in requesting proofs of the Dauphin's identity they could not know that he would be able to send the things they asked for.

It is noticeable that in his first explanation of the compass story Naundorff said nothing about the hiding-place

in the wall and the concealment of papers ; those particulars were added because his friends demanded a detailed account.

The story of the papers is manifestly false, because at the time indicated the royal family were not allowed implements of writing ; everything of that nature was taken from them, September 29th, before the removal of the King to the Great Tower, and it was not until the beginning of the King's trial that he was allowed pen, ink, and paper. Beauchesne tells about a note written with pin-pricks, and of communications between the King and his family after he sent them writing materials by means of a cord let down from one window to the other. But all that happened after the Dauphin had been removed from his father's room ; and Beauchesne's book, with its refutation of Naundorff's statements, through authentic accounts of the Temple and its inmates, was not published until several years after Naundorff's death.

Again, Naundorff said his father made a hole in the wall behind a board as a hiding-place for the papers, working in the night, so that even his faithful servant, Clery, should not know what he was doing. Only the Dauphin was told of that precious deposit ; and he added the compass, which he had previously hid in Clery's room, to prevent its confiscation by the officials.

Now, the board which concealed the hole only leaned against the wall, consequently it could be removed at any time, and therefore the hole was likely to be discovered by the persons in charge of the room. Moreover, the King could not make a hole in a solid stone wall without tools, and everything that could cut had been taken away some time before.

Nor could he have done such work without awakening Clery, who slept in an adjoining chamber, and the hostile

guards who lay in the passage close to the King's door. Besides, all the walls were papered, consequently he could not have broken through the paper without the damage to the wall being noticed.

Also, at the time when the King again possessed writing materials; the Dauphin no longer occupied his father's chamber; consequently he could not have known about the papers and the hole in the wall. Moreover, Naundorff told two separate and contradictory stories about the famous paper of identification. In his memoirs he said that the Queen, knowing that plans were on foot for the deliverance of the Dauphin, wrote a description of the marks upon his body; which paper was sealed by the King, and later came into the hands of Montmorin, who gave it to Naundorff. In the subsequent account of the compass, Naundorff said that the King, fearing the removal of the Dauphin by his enemies, wrote a description of the marks, which paper was signed by the Queen, and sealed by the King, and hid in the wall and sent to friends outside by the Dauphin himself.

There could not be so much difference in the telling of a fact; consequently this disparity alone is sufficient to overthrow the whole statement.

We hear of the compass again in another story told by Naundorff after his flattering success among the unsuspecting Royalists of Paris had made him garrulous respecting his early reminiscences. This incident is not related in Naundorff's memoirs as they exist in Gruau's principal work, *Les Intrigues Dévoilées*, but there are several other publications arranged by Naundorff and his devotees for the instruction of the people at large, which contain a number of statements too glaring in absurdity for reception by more enlightened minds. In one of these popular pamphlets occurs the ridiculous scene of the

physicians searching the hospitals of Paris with a portrait of the Dauphin in their hands, in order to find a substitute resembling him exactly, and there we find also Naundorff's account of his adventures in the park at St. Cloud.

It seems he wandered one day away from his attendants, and was lost, to the great distress of the family, who were correspondingly happy when he returned safe and sound.

When he told this story, somebody present, who appeared to remember having formerly heard that the Dauphin was once lost in the park, asked whether it was true that he found his way back by means of a pocket compass.

Naundorff said no ; he knew where he was by the houses along the street outside. However, he justified the inquirer's suggestion by saying that on another occasion he found his way by the use of the compass. He made the blunder of placing those adventures during the time of the imprisonment of the royal family in the Temple ; and when one of his hearers ventured to object that the captives were never allowed to go outside the walls, he replied that the rules were not so strict as people generally supposed, and that he and the whole family had on several occasions been allowed to visit St. Cloud and other places — a statement so manifestly false that it ought to have been enough to open the eyes of those credulous adherents.

It seems strange, too, that they did not notice the omission of these important circumstances in Naundorff's earlier communications, oral or written. There is no mention of the compass, or of the hiding-place, in the memoirs ; and his friends, including Gruau, were evidently ignorant that any such material for history was in existence. Neither the previous silence of Naundorff nor the later contradictions in his narration appeared to awaken any suspicion in his follow-

ers; they accepted without question whatever he offered in the way of evidence, because they were determined to believe in him, a state of mind which still seems to influence the few surviving members of that party and their not very numerous converts.

Naundorff's large family was increased by two children during his residence in England—Adelbert, born in 1840, and Ange-Emmanuel, in 1843, during the crisis of the household troubles, the creditors being restrained from finishing their work of dismantling the rooms until the mistress should be sufficiently recovered to bear the disturbance without danger.

Gruau obtained this respite through an appeal to a court of justice, and in return was complained of by one of the creditors as a dangerous man. His arrest followed, and he was imprisoned three days, until he could find two witnesses to answer for his good conduct.

A few days later Naundorff was arrested for debt, and confined in the prison of Horsemonger Lane, where he remained nine months, after which he was liberated by taking advantage of the Bankrupt Act.

According to his own story, he received while in prison letters from certain Catholic priests, pretending to contain a message from God, whose assistance in procuring for him the throne of his fathers was promised on condition of his return to the true Church.

An offer was also made to provide for his return to France, if he would give himself up to the protection of the clergy. But he refused to listen to these temptations.

Just then the Duke de Bordeaux, called Henri V. by his adherents, arrived in London, and Naundorff lost no time in

addressing a long letter to the Prince, reiterating his own claims and calling upon him to save his honour by acknowledging the true heir. In this letter Naundorff declared his knowledge of the fact that among the Prince's followers were certain persons whom he could name who had affirmed that they were well aware the Dauphin did not die in the Temple; that he was still alive; *that he was not Naundorff*, and that they would bring him forward when the right time should come. This letter not meeting with any response, Gruau endeavoured to convey another by hand, and he actually succeeded in entering the Prince's house; but was soon dismissed, with the assurance that Naundorff's communications would not be noticed by the Prince.

Gruau then sent an article to the *Morning Post*, which the editor would not publish. It appeared afterwards in the *Sun* and in the *Tynemouth Mercury*. He continued to address the newspapers and to try to influence personally the French Royalists who were at that time flocking to London on account of the presence there of the Duke de Bordeaux; but only one of those men consented to visit Naundorff, and he did it secretly.

The Duke de Bordeaux, who had rented a house for six months, left London very soon after his arrival, ostensibly on account of the increased illness of the Duke d'Angoulême at Gratz, although Naundorff ascribed the change of plan to the Prince's fear of the Pretender. It is quite probable that the annoyance caused by Naundorff's persistent attempts was the true reason of the Prince's abrupt departure.

After Naundorff's liberation from prison, his residence in London became hateful to him, because he was, or imagined himself to be, under the constant supervision of the police.

His landlord, who had been extremely friendly until Naundorff's poverty was made apparent by the seizure of his furniture, was suspected of acting as a spy for the English Parliament, and other circumstances convinced the Pretender that he was watched by mercenary agents sent from France. It is very likely that this was true. After having twice set his house on fire (there was a second alarm, the particulars of which are not given, but which was duly ascribed to political machinations), after having roused the police on complaint of an attempted assassination, after having written letter after letter to various royal personages (especially the King of the French), to give warning of impending plots and to boast of dangers which he had already averted from their consecrated heads, it is no wonder if he was regarded by the guardians of the public peace as a dangerous and violent man, particularly as he was known to devote his time to the development of military projectiles and to work habitually in explosive materials of the most destructive kind.

One evening in January, 1845, as Naundorff was occupied in his laboratory, a shot was fired outside his window; and, as usual, he considered it as an attack upon his person, and a proof of the malignity of his political enemies.

A few days later he decided to leave England, hoping to find abroad an opportunity to secure a maintenance for his family through the sale of a portion of his inventions in weapons of war. He intended settling in Switzerland; but his route lay through Holland, and he made arrangements to travel in company with an English gentleman, Colonel Butts, who was going to Rotterdam. Not thinking it prudent to use his royal name and titles on the way, he caused himself to be mentioned in Colonel Butts' passport as attached to that

gentleman's service, at the same time taking out another passport under the name of Bourbon, which he meant to use on his arrival at the place of destination. The passports were furnished by the Dutch consul; but he was not told that M. de Bourbon was the man described as the servant of Colonel Butts.

On discovering that fact, he tried to get possession of Naundorff's Bourbon passport, on the ground of an alleged omission in the required form, but Naundorff would not relinquish the paper, and the consul told the captain of the boat about the difficulty, and gave him instructions as to his conduct on arriving in Dutch waters. Accordingly, the captain cast anchor near the coast of Holland, and waited two days before entering the port of Rotterdam. This was supposed to be done in order to give time for the matter to become known to the Government. On landing, Naundorff's passport was demanded; and when he replied that he had none, being in the service of Colonel Butts, he was told that he had a passport under the name of Bourbon, and that he was the Duke of Normandy.

Thereupon he was obliged to deliver up the precious paper, and a guard was placed before the door of his hotel during the two weeks of his stay in Rotterdam. His passport was withheld; and when he applied for it, he was told that it would be given up only on the condition of his immediate return to London. An offer was made to pay the expenses of the journey if he required it; but he refused to go, and decided to appeal to the law for protection. To this end he sent for Gruau to join him for the purpose of conducting the case; and that faithful devotee, after a series of petty adventures, which he considered as evidence of a plot to hinder his departure, arrived safe in Rotterdam, where he was permitted

by the police to remain two weeks, on condition of not leaving the town without permission.

The conflict with the authorities is not described; but the result was that Naundorff decided to remain in Holland, and from that time he was treated with friendly consideration by the Government.

The above story rests wholly on the assertions of Naundorff and Gruau, and is improbable in many particulars; but it must be accepted on its own merits, and in any case it has no bearing upon the main question.

The reader cannot help wondering how Naundorff, who a short time before was so poor as to sleep on a bundle of straw and eat the crumbs which were gathered from rich men's tables, could afford to take a journey and stop at an hotel, and send for an assistant and open a lawsuit, and settle down comfortably in a foreign land; but, at any rate, no complaint of abject poverty was heard again.

Among the many and bitter accusations of Naundorff's apostate followers were those of *cynical ingratitude* and *pretended poverty*. The charge of ingratitude appears to be frequent and almost universal in Naundorff's case, and that of pretended poverty seems to be not wholly groundless when various circumstances in his adventurous career are closely examined.

About the middle of June, Naundorff went with Gruau to spend a few days at the Hague. After an excursion to Scheveningen, where they took a long walk on the sea-shore, Naundorff was suddenly seized with a violent cholera, which lasted two days and a night. In his distress he frequently

declared that he had been poisoned; but the physician ascribed the attack to his having taken cold on the sea-shore. The pain was followed by extreme weakness; but the next morning he awoke refreshed, and declared himself well enough to return to Rotterdam. On arriving there, he was taken ill with a fever, and remained in bed eight days, being visited by a skilful physician and tended by competent nurses. As soon as he was able to move, he determined to change his residence to Delft; and thither he repaired, against the advice of his doctor and of his friend, neither of whom considered him fit to travel. But he had business there, which he hoped would enable him to establish his family in comfort, and his impatience would not permit him to wait.

A few days after the change his malady returned in the form of a slow fever, which did not seem to threaten immediate danger. Accordingly, Gruau returned to London after the middle of July, to prepare for the removal of Naundorff's family, which, however, could not be effected until the 4th of August.

Gruau's language in everything concerning the "King" and the "royal family" is so grandiloquent that it is often difficult to get at the truth of his story, even when he means to impart information; and it is still more obscure at this juncture, when he probably had something to conceal. He says the party left London in haste on Sunday, because on that day no amount of false swearing on the part of their enemies could cause their arrest, or the seizure of their goods; also, they did not take any passports, for fear of "treason," which would imply that they did not travel in the regular way. However, they arrived at last in Delft, where they found the husband and father at the point of death, the fever having become bilious, afterwards typhoid, and finally cerebral,

involving frequent loss of consciousness, alternating with fierce delirium, during which paroxysms the patient talked much about his family, his royal pretensions, his unnatural sister, his anxiety for France, his desire for the spread of true religion in the world.

After lying six days in this condition he gradually sank away. Towards the last he called his wife and children and his faithful friend by name, as though consciously bidding them farewell; then his words became unintelligible, and at about ten o'clock in the evening of August 10, 1845, he died.

As soon as Naundorff's death became known the inhabitants showed great sympathy and kindness towards the bereaved survivors. Gruau says he was assured that the diplomatic department sent a notice of the death to several Governments, especially to France.

The body was placed in a vault bought by the family in one of the city cemeteries, and the funeral was attended by the majority of the military officers in the vicinity. Two prominent citizens, M. Van Burén and Major Meurs, who had shown great kindness towards the family, made remarks at the grave.

M. Gruau expatiates at length on the consternation felt by himself and by the Pretender's family when they realized that Naundorff's days were numbered. He says: "We could not persuade ourselves that the Orphan of the Temple, preserved so miraculously through a half century of tortures, would succumb before earthly justice had restored him to his civil rights.

"We could not then conceive the object of that preservation, nor what had been the designs of God towards the chosen of His providence. The plaintive accents of incessant delirium,

which for us were full of meaning, revealed all the bitterness of the thought which besieged the soul of the unrecognised Prince, conscious of his dying state in the midst of universal abandonment."

The sudden end of the unfinished drama must indeed have been a terrible disappointment to Naundorff's friend, who believed in him to the last, and to Naundorff's children, who probably considered themselves in all sincerity the children of a King. While in Naundorff's mind the misery of defeat was enhanced by the consciousness of deserved failure; unless his mind was really unhinged by the magnitude of his scheme of imposture, and consequently his conduct more that of fool than knave.

It is asserted by Naundorff's adherents that on his death-bed he requested the attendance of the Catholic Bishop of the diocese, and that the Bishop, being prevented from obeying the summons, sent his Grand Vicar in his place. If this statement be true, it shows another phase of Naundorff's hypocrisy, for in setting himself up as a religious reformer he had definitively broken his connection with, and repudiated his allegiance to, the Catholic Church.

It is not likely that the Bishop would have gone to Naundorff, or sent his Vicar, unless he was ignorant of the Pretender's attitude towards the Church, which also is not probable, as besides the fact of Naundorff having been denounced by the Bishop of Versailles for his trickery, and deserted by his friends on account of his apostasy, the Pope himself only two years before had condemned Naundorff's heresy, and characterized him as "a lost man," falsely proclaiming himself the Duke of Normandy.

The same circumstances make it improbable that Naundorff was ever solicited by the Romish priests in London to entrust his cause to their management, as he pretended to have been. The Catholic Church is very strict in such matters, and Naundorff was a person to be avoided by all true believers, lay or clerical, as long as he remained in a state of contumacy.

If the Grand Vicar of the Dutch Bishop had really visited Naundorff and administered the last sacraments, his partisans would have been glad enough to say so explicitly; as it is, they only assert that he sent for the Bishop, who sent his Vicar (without telling what was the Vicar's errand); and then they add that the "Son of the Martyr-King" was thus enabled to die as a Christian, an inference not warranted by the statement, and obviously offered to pave the way for Naundorff's successors, whom these infatuated partisans persist in declaring eligible to the French Crown.

Naundorff's family continued to reside in Holland, and to make, in conjunction with M. Gruau, every possible effort to present their claims before the world for recognition.

Gruau made haste to prepare his principal work, *Les Intrigues Dévoilées*, which was published at Rotterdam between 1846 and 1848, in four volumes 8vo, containing more than two thousand pages, and which for partisan injustice of argument, incompleteness and irrelevance of material, confusion and contrariety of statement, suppression of important facts, and prejudiced colouring of admitted testimony, is unexampled as an historical essay; while its grandiloquent style, its preposterous verbiage, its nauseating repetition of royal titles in the designation of its hero, render it a veritable curiosity of literature.

In 1850 the Naundorff family summoned the Duchess d'Angoulême, the Duke de Bordeaux, and the Duchess of Parma before the civil tribunal of Paris, and their case obtained a hearing, Jules Favre being their representative and advocate. He made two long speeches in their favour (May 2, and May 30, 1851); but the case was lost, the presiding judge resting his decision upon the following points:—

The impossibility of the evasion, the report of the autopsy, the testimony of Lasne and Gomin, Naundorff's ignorance of the French language, and the silence of the liberators of the Dauphin.

The last two points are really the unanswerable arguments which are alone sufficient to overthrow and silence for ever the pretensions of Naundorff. His ignorance of French, after having been (according to his own story) speaking it all his life until within a few months of his arrival in Berlin, and the absence of any sign of interest in his fate on the part of the Royalists, after they had (as he declared) protected and supported him until his appearance in Prussia, give the lie to his whole story.

M. Gruau published in August, 1837, a protest against the decision, in a pamphlet entitled, *En Politique Point de Justice*, wherein he treated the subject in his usual manner, by demanding that Naundorff's assertions should be accepted as authentic testimony, in the absence of satisfactory proof.

The Duchess d'Angoulême died October 19, 1851.

She had, of course, paid no attention to the summons of the Pretender's family, and she never changed her opinion or her conduct respecting Naundorff.

But the statement seems to be well authenticated that during her last illness she sent for General la Rochejacquelein and made the following confession :—

“General, I have a fact, a very important fact, to reveal to you. It is the testament of a dying woman. My brother is not dead. This is the nightmare of my whole life. Promise me to use all possible means to find him. See the Holy Father; see Martin’s children; travel by land and sea to discover some of the old servants or their descendants; for France can never be happy and tranquil until he is placed upon the throne of his fathers. Swear to me that you will do what I ask. I shall at least die in peace. It seems to me already that the weight upon my breast is less heavy.”

The comments of Naundorff’s partisans upon this revelation furnish a good example of their unfairness in judging of facts which militate against their own position. Their organ *La Légitimité* asks : “Can it be that she was ignorant of his death in Delft ?”

It is plain that the Duchess did not mean any of the Pretenders who had so often annoyed her by their absurd claims.

Naundorff had then been dead six years, and it is impossible that she could have been ignorant of his decease.

Richemont was living within easy reach, so that it would not be necessary to search for him by land and sea.

Eleazer Williams was still alive, across the ocean, and his story was even then under discussion in America; but very little was ever known about him in Europe, and it is not likely that the Duchess heard of the excitement or saw the publications containing the startling evidence which was and is the only authentic testimony concerning the lost Dauphin and the only probable solution of the mystery of his fate.

There is another account of the dying words of the Duchess, given by Collin la Herte, an adherent of Richemont, wherein she is said to have demanded that Richemont should be sent for and acknowledged as her brother, and Count de Chambord is said to have reproached La Rochefoucauld for having troubled the last days of the Duchess with his advocacy of Richemont's claims.

Whether this story has any foundation cannot now be determined, but it is certain that during all the previous years the Duchess had ignored Richemont as an impostor.

The statement of General la Rochejacquelein seems all the more direct and trustworthy from the fact that the Duchess did not mention where her brother was to be found, nor what was his name in exile. She was apparently kept in ignorance of all that concerned him, excepting that he was alive and had been secreted in America.

The woman who gave her dying testimony in New Orleans in 1853 declared that the Duchess d'Angoulême told her in London in 1807 that the Dauphin was safe in America, and she heard also that he had been carried thither by a Royalist named Bellanger; but it was not until after 1815 that the woman was told by a person coming from the Tuileries that the Dauphin was known in America as Eleazer Williams, an Indian missionary.

The disingenuousness of the Naundorff party is still more strikingly apparent on reading the whole account of Dr. Martin's interview with General la Rochejacquelein, as given in *Le Cabinet Noir* by Herisson, and which, condensed, is as follows:—

General la Rochejacquelein being at Orleans, February 18,

1857, and hearing that Dr. Martin was there also, requested an interview, as he had an important communication to make. They met the same evening, and after conversing upon matters relating to the Bourbons, the General told Martin what had been confided to him by the Duchess. He also asked Martin :

“Have you heard anything about Louis XVII. ? Do you know where he is ?”

And Martin answered :

“No. I know nothing about him.”

Now, both these men believed firmly that the Dauphin was still alive, and they were evidently not speaking of Naundorff, for Naundorff had been dead twelve years. Martin wrote out the particulars of the interview and sent it to M. Gruau, and in a recent reference to that letter by Delrosat, the confession of the Duchess is given in full ; but La Rochejacquelein’s question and Martin’s answer are omitted !

Dr. Martin was a son of the peasant-prophet, one of the “Martin’s children” whom the Duchess begged the General to see.

In 1852 appeared Beauchesne’s work, *Louis XVII., Sa Vie, Son Agonie, Sa Mort*, calculated to establish the death of the Dauphin in the Temple, and thereby to disprove the stories of the various Pretenders.

In reality it only proves that a child died in the Temple, a fact which was never doubted. The chief merit of the book is its careful collection of anecdotes relative to the infancy and childhood of the Dauphin, its elaborate description of the Temple, and its detailed account of the treatment suffered by the Prince during his imprisonment. The testimony furnished is throughout contradictory of Naundorff’s statements.

The total absence of any reminiscences prior to the out-

break of the Revolution is a noticeable feature of Naundorff's autobiography; his story begins with the printed accounts of the troubles of the royal family, and does not contain anything of importance which is not to be found in those early records, while later revelations are full of striking incidents which he would surely have mentioned if he had really been the person he pretended to be. Beauchesne's evidently authentic description of the Temple shows that Naundorff could not have been concealed for seven months in the upper storey of the tower, and his account of the moral and physical degeneration of the Dauphin under the cruelty of Simon proves that Naundorff's statements concerning his own good bodily health and keen mental efficiency during that long captivity are necessarily false.

In 1858 M. Gruau replied to Beauchesne in a volume entitled,—

Non, Louis XVII. n'est pas mort au Temple !

In 1872 the Naundorff family appealed against the judgment of 1851, and summoned Count de Chambord before the court in Paris. No notice was taken of the summons; but the case was tried in February, 1874, with Jules Favre again as counsel for the plaintiff.

His plea was elaborately extended, and was afterwards published in a volume containing several hundred pages. The decision of the court was again adverse, and was founded upon the impossibility of the evasion, the improbability of the substitutions, and the fabrication of the letters of Laurent, the rest of the testimony being set aside as suspicious hearsay, vague rumours, futile presumptions, unjustifiable inductions; while Naundorff's career was considered as showing him to

have been a bold adventurer, who adopted the *rôle* of the other false Dauphins with more address than they were able to practice, his chief reliance being placed upon his resemblance to the Bourbon type.

To an unprejudiced student of the subject the decision of the French court was entirely just.

The evasion as Naundorff described it was manifestly impossible; the substitutions he mentions, eight in number, were indeed improbable, and the letters said to have been written by Laurent were not only worthless as copies, they actually contradicted Naundorff's statements respecting his concealment in the tower.

It is difficult to reconcile Jules Favre's conduct with any well-founded reputation of a celebrated advocate. He seems to have been honest in his espousal of Naundorff's cause, and yet the facts show that he could not have been thoroughly acquainted with Naundorff's autobiography, upon which the whole claim rests, and which cannot bear investigation by a logical understanding.

Jules Favre always addressed M. Gruau as M. le Comte Gruau de la Barre, which showed that he did not know much about the Naundorff affair, for M. Gruau was not a Count; he received the title only from Naundorff in 1838. Surely no acute lawyer would accept such a method of creating an order of nobility!

Also, he addressed Naundorff's daughter as "Princess," a title to which she had no established right.

These facts show that Favre acted as a partisan, and not as a judicial investigator of evidence.

In connection with Jules Favre's activity in the Pretender's

behalf, a great deal is made of the incident that when he signed the armistice in Bismarck's presence at Versailles, he sealed the paper with a ring he wore, and which had been given him by Naundorff. It was asserted that the ring bore the Bourbon lilies; but in reality the device was a figure of Fame, and the stone was antique.

The idea meant to be conveyed by the trumpeting of that petty circumstance was the striking coincidence of the sealing of an official paper with the dynastic arms belonging to Louis XVII. Perhaps the coincidence is equally remarkable if we consider the paper as sealed by the property of a Prussian, for the benefit of Prussia.

The repeated refusal of the French Government to allow a thorough discussion of Naundorff's claims in the public courts, while Hervagault and Richemont were tried and sentenced without hesitation, is considered by many disinterested persons as a strong argument in favour of the justice of Naundorff's cause, while to his partisans it is the keystone of their otherwise flimsy fabric of groundless assertion.

But there are several apparent reasons for this attitude of the French Government, any one of which is sufficient to explain the seeming contradiction of justice.

Hervagault and Richemont committed overt acts which made them obnoxious as disturbers of the public peace, and on that ground they were brought to trial.

Naundorff, on the contrary, kept within the requirements of the law, and was therefore left to go his own way.

When he ventured so far as to summon the exiled Duchess d'Angoulême before the French courts, he was simply exiled himself.

Again, Naundorff seems to have been generally regarded as a harmless monomaniac, rather than a designing adventurer; his addresses to the public were more ridiculous than alarming, and the treatment he received both in Germany and France was in conformity with such an opinion of his character.

Also, it seems probable, judging from the testimony, that Naundorff's affairs were ignored by the various Governments to which he appealed because he was suspected of knowing something about the true history of the Dauphin, and any investigation of his own claims was likely to bring that long-hidden secret to the light.

Several circumstances point to this conclusion. Prince Hardenberg's suggestion that Naundorff's only importance consisted in his knowledge of the real Dauphin; Rochow's later argument that Naundorff might have stolen papers of identification from the Dauphin; Naundorff's willingness to resign the throne to the Duke de Bordeaux; his evasion of the Duchess d'Angoulême's demand for a description of the escape from the Temple; the significant sentence in his letter to her respecting the child substituted for him; her extreme agitation when informed that Naundorff was acquainted with two important secrets relating to the Dauphin's fate, and her contemptuous anger when those secrets were revealed; Naundorff's declaration to the Duke de Bordeaux that even among the Duke's own followers there were noblemen who knew that the Dauphin was not dead, and *was not Naundorff*, and would be brought forward at the right time—all these things show that there was something hidden which, for the honour of France and for the interests of royalty everywhere, it was necessary to prevent becoming known to the world at large, although there is no evidence that Naundorff really knew the

secret. It is more probable that he merely suspected the continued existence of the Dauphin and laid claim to the title, trusting that the criminals would not dare expose him by producing the real heir, and hoping to be offered immense bribes for his retirement, money being evidently the chief object of his enterprise.

M. Gruau prepared a protest against the action of 1874, in a pamphlet entitled, *Appel á la Conscience Publique*, which was published at Amsterdam in 1880. He died in 1883, at the age of eighty-eight years, having been a zealous champion of Naundorff's interests from the time of his espousal of the cause in 1836.

Since his death a number of books in support of Naundorff's pretensions have been published in France, and a weekly journal, *La Légitimité*, is issued in Bordeaux, thereby keeping the subject in continual agitation.

Of course, all these works contain substantially the same material, repeated in different forms. So far as Naundorff is concerned, the testimony relative to his asserted identity with the Dauphin is all comprised within his short autobiography, and any sensible person studying that work in a scientific and critical spirit cannot fail to be convinced of its essential falsity.

It is noticeable that the proofs of identity which Naundorff pretended to possess did not come to light after his death any more than during his life. If he had left such evidence, his family and his partisans would have made haste to bring it forward.

To a judicial mind, the non-existence of the alleged papers is of importance only as affording another proof of Naundorff's

mendacity ; for the possession of such papers would not be evidence of identity, as they might have been obtained in various ways. Besides the documents asserted to have been lent to the Prussian Government, Naundorff claimed throughout the rest of his life to have in his keeping authentic papers, which he was ready to produce before a Court of Justice, and an examination of which would convince any person of the truth of his story. Yet he never showed such papers, neither to friends nor to enemies, and they were not forthcoming after his death.

If he ever possessed a paper containing a description of the physical characteristics of the Dauphin, it would not have helped his own case, for the marks on Naundorff's body did not answer to the scars which testified to the Dauphin's sufferings ; the form of the trace of inoculation was not the same, and Naundorff's eyes were blue and his hair light-coloured and exceedingly curly, while the Dauphin had hazel eyes and auburn hair, only slightly inclined to curl.

Meantime, the Naundorff family have been making every possible endeavour to establish their claim to consideration as descendants of Louis XVII.

In 1863 they succeeded in obtaining from the States-General of the Netherlands the naturalization of Naundorff's younger son, Adelbert, under the name of De Bourbon, the demand being based upon the fact that the Dutch Government in 1845 permitted the registration of Naundorff's death as Charles Louis de Bourbon, Duke of Normandy, Louis XVII. ; and in 1891 the sons of Naundorff's elder son Edmond made the same request, with the same success ; so that at present Naundorff's male descendants have acquired, in Holland, the legal right to assume the name of De Bourbon.

This privilege is due to the personal conviction of the late King, as was also the permitted registration of Naundorff's death, with the full titles of the rightful King of France ; and in view of these facts the question naturally arises, how far the individual belief of a sovereign should be allowed to falsify or even anticipate the decisions of authentic history.

In the Catholic cemetery of the town of Delft, in Holland, stands a monument bearing the inscription :

" Ici repose
 LOUIS XVII.
 Roi de France et de Navarre.
 Charles Louis Duc de Normandie.
 Né á Versailles le 27 Mars, 1785.
 Décédé á Delft le 10 Aout, 1845."

That monument has no right to be there, because it asserts an identity which has never been proved, and which the testimony of history decidedly controverts ; if allowed to remain, it will become to future ages not only a reminder of a royal secret traded upon by impostors, of whom the person buried under this stone was chief, but also of the arbitrary power sometime permitted to kings, enabling them to ignore facts and support fallacies according to their royal will and pleasure.

The descendants of Charles William Naundorff would not have been allowed to erect that monument in Delft if the then King of Holland had not made his private convictions a public law. The majority of the Dutch nation do not accept Naundorff as Louis XVII. of France ; still less are his claims believed in by people of other nations. Consequently that

epitaph is a perpetual obstacle to learned research and a snare to honest inquiry.

The French Government annulled Richemont's mortuary claims within five years after his decease. Naundorff's monument has affronted human intelligence and historical justice for nearly half a century, and it is high time that the audacious record should be destroyed.

If the obnoxious tombstone be allowed to stand, it ought to receive the added inscription :

“ Here LIES Naundorff! ”

The German adventurer will never be generally recognised as King of France, but his assurance and pertinacity entitle him to be universally acknowledged as

KING OF CRANKS!

Among the medals which illustrate important epochs in history are two remarkable bronzes, executed by the famous German engraver, Loos, and said to have been found among other medals connected with the French Revolution, in the private chamber of Louis XVIII. after his flight from the Tuileries in 1815.

The first of these two extremely significant works of art is supposed to have been designed in 1793 or 1794.

One side bears the effigies of the Dauphin and his sister, with their names below; the other the heavy folds of a closed curtain, and underneath the inscription :

“ QUAND SERA-T-ELLE LEVÉE ? ”

This would seem to imply the knowledge or suspicion of a plot for the abduction of the heir to the throne ; or, at any rate, the existence of a mystery concerning the future fate of one or both of the royal children.

The second medal is still more suggestive. On one side is the inscription :

“ LOUIS, SECOND FILS DE LOUIS XVI.
NÉ LE 27 MARS, 1795.”

On the other the curtain represented in the first medal is lifted, and an angel displays a marble tablet, upon which he has just finished writing the words :

“ REDEVENU LIBRE LE 8 JUIN, 1795.”

The angel is standing with one foot resting upon a burning torch, the other upon a coffin, and against the coffin leans an open book containing the names :

“ LOUIS,
LOUIS XVI.,—ANTOINETTE,—ELIZABETH.”

It is useless to pretend that these medals are only a poetical manner of recording the melancholy facts; they evidently mean to hint of a momentous secret.

The closed curtain and the question :

“WHEN WILL IT BE LIFTED?”

suggest a mystery, and the lifted veil, the angel's message :

“SET AT LIBERTY, JUNE 8, 1795;”

the burning torch, emblematic of unextinguished life; the coffin, bearing the names of the deceased members of the royal family—“Louis” having reference to the first-born son of Louis XVI.—all these particulars tell plainly that the brother, the parents, and the aunt of the Dauphin were dead, and that the Dauphin himself was alive and free.

It is generally believed that the archives of Berlin contain indubitable proofs of the escape of the Dauphin from the Temple, and of his continued existence; this testimony having been abstracted from the private papers of Louis XVIII., at the time of his departure from Mitau. And that the archives of Rome possess similar evidence is proved by the conduct of the Pope in 1816, with reference to the proposed expiatory monument in memory of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, Madame Elizabeth, and Louis XVII.

As yet those sources of information have not been opened to historical students. Perhaps in the course of time and the progress of liberty all obstacles to the acquirement of knowledge will be overcome; and when this whole story is brought to light, the records which establish the abduction of

LOUIS XVII.

will probably be found to contain the proofs of his identity with the misjudged and unhappy Indian Missionary,

ELEAZER WILLIAMS.

THE END.

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